# Processes of Cultural Change and Integration in the Roman World

Edited by

SASKIA T. ROSELAAR

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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# Introduction: Processes of Cultural Change and Integration in the Roman World

*Saskia T. Roselaar*

## Introduction

This volume is the result of a conference held at the University of Nottingham in July 2013, which focused on 'processes of integration in the Roman world'. This meeting was a follow-up to an earlier conference, held at Manchester in 2010, which looked at 'processes of integration in the Roman Republic'.[1] Both conferences started from the idea that, despite the amount of recent scholarship on integration in the ancient world and the impact this had on formation of identities,[2] there are still aspects of these issues that are not fully understood.

Obviously the political unification of first Italy and then large parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia under Roman political dominance had far-reaching consequences for the conquered peoples: together with political unification came social, economic, religious, linguistic, and cultural change. Some elements of culture became universal throughout the Empire: 'Roman'-style theatres appeared in England and Syria, 'Roman' baths in Germany and Africa. However, in each location the exact cultural response was different: most people retained at least parts of their own culture, religion, and languages. The processes of cultural integration that occurred throughout the Roman Empire were the result of complex interactions between the Roman state and its representatives (many of whom were not from Rome at all) and the indigenous populations, which of course were not homogeneous either: geographical mobility on a large scale ensured that the populations of many regions, not only in the cities but also in the countryside, consisted of people from different cultural backgrounds.[3]

A serious lacuna in current research is that many studies of the Roman Empire focus on the consequences of increased contact with Rome, namely cultural change and the spread of the Latin language. The *causes* of these

1 The conference volume was published as Roselaar (2012a).
2 Some basic works are Huskinson (2000); Keay & Terrenato (2001); Hingley (2005); Hales & Hodos (2010).
3 For migration see De Ligt & Tacoma (forthcoming), especially the article by Woolf.

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changes, however, have not yet been the subject of systematic study. Many studies on specific towns or regions are entitled 'Roman [place]' and describe the culture of the location, but without offering any explanation for how this culture came into existence; often the conquest by Rome and the presence of (a few) Romans are deemed sufficient to explain the cultural makeup of conquered regions.[4] However, it is by no means clear how exactly conquest led to cultural change: what exactly happened in the daily lives of the people in places conquered by Rome, that made them change their culture and, often, the way they represented their identity? The types of interaction that occurred between Romans and others varied from place to place, and according to social class, gender, age, profession, et cetera. There is, therefore, a significant lacuna in our knowledge of the integration processes in the Republic and the Empire: we know that the peoples of the Empire were united in one political unit and that eventually culture and language became more uniform throughout the Empire, but we do not know how these developments were related. To simply ascribe change to 'interaction with Rome' is to miss a crucial step in the process of integration.

Essential for a clearer understanding of integration in the Empire is therefore a focus on the 'points of contact' between Rome and its subjects, and between incorporated people of different ethnic backgrounds without direct intervention from Rome. Only if we know in which day-to-day contexts the inhabitants of the Empire interacted with Romans and with each other can we judge how such contacts led to cultural, social, and legal integration in the Empire. The conference at Manchester therefore aimed to clarify the processes of integration between the Roman state and the people of Italy, by exploring the 'points of contact' occurring in daily life between the Romans and the peoples of Italy. As the most important 'points of contact' in the Republican period, the conference participants identified: settlements created by the Roman state, especially colonies; the Roman army; the administration of Italy by the Roman state; and economic interactions between Romans and Italians. All these processes integrated Italy in many ways: economically, by creating networks spanning the whole peninsula, including the spread of Roman coinage; legally, by the extension of Roman law and citizenship; geographically, by the migration of Romans and Italians and the building of a road network; and socially, by the creation of ties of friendship and patronage between Romans and Italians. The volume also showed very clearly that in many instances the initiative for cultural change, and therefore cultural integration, came from

4 E.g. Dall'Aglio & Di Cocco (2004). Of course there is nothing wrong in itself with such studies, but they do not always discuss the processes of integration behind these cultural changes.

the Italians and provincials themselves, who engaged with Hellenistic culture without the influence of Rome. Their agency in deciding the way in which they participated in the opportunities offered by Rome's expansion was large; many took advantage of these options, while those who were not interested were free to mind their own business.

The conference at Nottingham extended its investigation into the imperial period, bringing together studies on the interaction between Rome and the peoples that became part of her Empire between *c.* 300 BC and 300 AD. It questioned whether the same types of interaction were important in this period as well, or that other processes came to the fore. As will be seen in this volume, some were still the same, e.g. colonies settled by the Romans, economic interaction, migration, and the expansion of legal and monetary infrastructure. Nevertheless, some important differences with the Republican period can also be detected, which are especially to be seen in connection with the agency of the indigenous inhabitants of the affected regions. In many cases Rome and its representatives exploited the economic resources of the conquered territories without allowing the local inhabitants any autonomy. Of course, those local inhabitants who did make the choice to engage with Rome, its economy and culture, could rise to great heights in the administration of the Empire.

## What is Integration?[5]

Before we can look at processes of integration in the Roman world, we must clarify what is meant—at least in this volume—by the term 'integration'. The most simple definition states that it is 'the intermixing of people who were previously segregated'.[6] Often 'integration' is seen as a cultural process, by which two or more different peoples come to share the same culture and identity: 'to mix with and join a society or a group of people, often changing to suit their way of life, habits, and customs'.[7] The first definition cited here does not focus on cultural change, but simply points to a process of 'intermixing'; the second, however, focuses on a person's adaptation to a culturally dominant society. The term integration, when applied to the Roman world, therefore, is often seen as a synonym for cultural change, or 'Romanization': a process through which

5 These issues will be explored in more depth in Roselaar (forthcoming).

6 http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/integration?q=integration

7 http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/integrate?q=integration

people in the Roman Empire become more 'Roman'.[8] We must emphasize, however, that integration is not always cultural: many different types of integration can occur, for example political, linguistic, economic, social, cultural, and religious. All these types of integration are interrelated, but not all necessarily occur at the same time, or even occur at all, as will be seen throughout this volume. If we think of a modern immigrant into the UK, for example, he can receive British citizenship (political integration), work for a British company (economic integration), have British friends (social integration), and participate in British culture. However, it is not necessary that he does all these things at the same time: someone can speak English, have a British passport, and have British friends, but also be a Muslim and watch Arabic-language television channels; this does not mean that he is not integrated, at least in many ways, into British society. Although most studies of identity and integration still focus especially on cultural identity, since this is well documented in the material record, it is important to note that the Roman state did not have an equal impact on all these areas of life; it made its presence felt firstly in the institutions and economies of the conquered peoples, and only later in their culture and identity.[9] This volume will therefore discuss not only cultural change, but also political, economic, and legal integration.

It is often thought that in order for integration to occur, there must be a dominant culture to which people from other cultures can adapt, as seen in the second definition; in the case of Rome, it was often considered inevitable that subjected people adopted Roman culture.[10] However, scholars have increasingly focused on the active role of the people with whom the Romans interacted.[11] The most important result of these studies is an awareness of the enormous variety of responses to Roman conquest; this variation existed not only on the provincial or regional level, but even from location to location. It is clear that contacts between Romans and others were much more complex than previously thought, and that Italians, and later provincials, were active agents who created their own cultural identity, rather than passive recipients

8 For my views on Romanization, see Roselaar (2012b, 13–14; forthcoming). Essentially I think that the Roman conquest did cause significant change in all parts of life, and that the term 'Romanization' can be used as an umbrella term to incorporate all these changes; although it does not, of course, mean that people felt themselves to be 'Romans'. See Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 11–13) with the insightful review by Osborne & Vout (2010).

9 Pitts (2007, 699).

10 E.g. Haverfield (1923).

11 E.g. Millett (1990); Mattingly (1997); Woolf (1998).

of 'Roman' culture.[12] It is necessary also to emphasize that it is impossible to identify a uniform 'Roman' culture, since 'there is no such thing as a 'pure' Roman culture, because Rome and Italy were themselves trapped in a network of cultural references to the Hellenistic, Italic, and Mediterranean worlds'.[13] Of course, from the first century BC, Rome as the dominant power appropriated these elements and combined them into a more uniform culture which might be called Roman, with some standard elements, such as baths and theatres, spreading through the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, local responses, and the motivations behind them, were widely divergent.

It is often thought that the impact of Rome was felt most by provincial elites; Millett for example argues that the lower classes encountered the 'culture of the conquerors' mainly through contacts with their 'Romanised [local] superiors'; this 'trickle-down' process would have ensured that all people eventually were influenced in some way by the Roman presence.[14] However, this eventually means that more people than just the elites experienced the impact of Roman rule.[15] As Wallace-Hadrill points out,[16] Roman culture was not only an elite culture, as shown by the wide distribution of Roman-inspired consumer goods, e.g. samian ware. It is to be expected that local elites were more aware of Rome than the average person; local elites engaged first-hand with Romans, both during the conquest and later in connection with Roman administration. Once the elites had been confirmed in their positions after the Roman conquest, they had to play "an important role in negotiating the terms of the incorporation of their communities within the Roman Empire and in participating

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12 Keay & Terrenato (2001).

13 Jiménez (2010, 57); see Hingley (2005, 44, 55); Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 19–28 and ch. 3).

14 Millett (1990). See Woolf (1998, 15) for 'cultural brokers': local people who mediate between Roman and local cultures (as well as mediating in politics and the economy, since they were often the local leaders). He notes rightly (p. 170) that the trickle-down process was limited, since not all elements of 'Roman' culture reached all people in conquered societies, since many of them would have no money to pay for new cultural items (or, we should add, had no interest in adopting them).

15 Mattingly (2011, 206) goes too far in stating that the 'Millett model of Romanization is simply the flip side of the Haverfield one—both focus almost exclusively on the elite group in society, but in the former they are the active agents, and in the latter they are passive recipients'. It is unavoidable to focus on the elites, since they appear most clearly in the sources, but the realization that the elites (and of course also the lower classes) were not passive recipients of Roman culture is surely a major step forward from the Haverfield model.

16 Wallace-Hadrill (2008, ch. 7).

in the benefits of the Empire",[17] ensuring that their peoples got the best possible deal with the Romans regarding political status and economic prosperity.

Local elites also became cultural mediators: "Local elites could enjoy a 'Roman style' culture and so buy into the power and status it afforded them over the rest of the indigenous population."[18] Elites could reinforce their local status by spending money—which they had earned in new Mediterranean markets, opened up by Roman rule—on public buildings and other gifts, which showed them buying in to 'Roman' culture, but using it for the good of their own communities. This elite lifestyle could be copied by the 'upwardly mobile'[19]—not only the elites could play this game with the new cultural choices available to them. It should be emphasized that Rome was not usually the driving force in the spread of these cultural elements; people adapted themselves to changing political and cultural circumstances for their own reasons. Motivations for cultural change were often practical, stemming from a desire for material or social gain: for example, economic relations are more efficient when sharing the same language and institutions, as Termeer illustrates in this volume for the coinages of Republican Italy. In many cases people would have accepted an element of Roman culture because it offered them material benefits, such as a chance at social or economic advancement or a more comfortable lifestyle.

People could use 'Roman' culture to express a local identity or to enhance their status in their own communities: such objects "offered a range of new cultural opportunities", which people could use for their own advantages and purposes.[20] The Latin alphabet, for example, was used to send out messages relevant to the writer, rather than to Rome, from which it had come.[21] Using these items did not mean that people were trying to represent themselves as Romans, instead of members of their respective communities. For most local people their position in their own town was paramount, since they did not intend to move away. Knowledge of Latin and adoption of Roman cultural practices improved a provincial's prestige in Roman eyes and thereby his chances of political advancement, as illustrated here by the careers of Cassius Dio and Dio Chrysostom. Yet even they acted mainly in their own interest and that of their home towns. Thus, most of the changes in the culture of the Italians, and

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17 Terrenato (2005, 66).

18 Huskinson (2000, 19). See Hingley (2005, 69–70, 79–80).

19 Huskinson (2000, 97). See Woolf (1998, 156–7).

20 Hingley (2005, 111); Roth (2007, 8).

21 Hingley (2005, 99). See Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 10): provincials engaged in a "dialectic of appropriation by which cultural goods and traits of the conquering power are taken on by the conquered to serve specific ends".

later the provinces, were instigated by themselves for their own purposes, relevant to the local situation; the cults of Virtues in Republican Italy are a good example of this phenomenon. Nevertheless, changes in the political position and economy of local communities could be imposed from outside, i.e. by representatives of the Roman state or individual Romans, as will be shown in this volume.

### Identity and Empire

The subject of integration is closely connected to the concept of identity. Although this volume focuses especially on processes of interaction leading to cultural integration, cultural change cannot be separated from identity, so it is necessary to say a few words about this concept. It is often thought, as we saw above, that cultural integration in the Roman world led to a change in identity among Italians and provincials: they would have started to feel more 'Roman' and eventually identified themselves as such. However, as indicated above, it is not at all sure that these cultural changes were experienced in this way by those who engaged with Roman culture.

Identity has been defined as "a social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristics features or attributes".[22] The most important characteristic features are race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture, although none of these are essential for creating an identity; they are outside markers which may indicate the identity of the person displaying them.[23] As we will see in this volume, interaction with Rome impacted these factors at very different rates in different locations. Culture is most easily defined as the objects or practices that form the visible expression of someone's identity, as "a set of assumptions and experiences … expressed by following certain common practices or by employing accepted representations of mutual identity".[24] Culture may therefore the defined as the tangible aspects of identity, which are used to show one's identity to others; these may be either material objects or certain aspects of behaviour.

22 Fearon (1999, 2). There are, however, many other definitions of this concept.
23 Hall (2002, 9–12); Hodos (2010, 4).
24 Huskinson (2000, 5–7).

Several forms of identity exist: a sense of personal identity, but also a social identity, which creates a sense of belonging to a group.[25] Within one ethnic group there can be several subcultures; this subject as such has not yet received much attention for the Roman world, but it is clear that not everyone belonging to the same ethnicity shared the same culture, either because of personal choice or because not everyone had the same economic and social opportunities. We have already seen that the elites of the Empire shared largely the same culture, so that they might have had more in common with their social equals elsewhere than with the lower classes of their own towns.

Identities and the accompanying cultural and material expressions are not fixed, but change over time: "Culture … can never be static, for it is always evolving, both in anticipation of and in response to internal and external events that its individuals and collective groups enact and experience. … Rather, it is an assemblage of practices, ideas, customs, traditions, beliefs, institutions, and products of work and thought. … Not all these essences are required all the time to impart or imbue a sense of association with a particular social status, construct, or stratum."[26] This means that the identity of a group or person can change according to circumstances. Thus, the identity that someone chooses to adopt can vary according to circumstance: someone may be at the same time a son, a father, a husband, a middle-aged man, a wealthy farmer, a Gaul, a Roman citizen, a local town councillor, and consider himself "all, some, or none of these at any given moment".[27] This variable personal identity is very clearly visible in the works of Dio Cassius, for example, who could be a Roman senator or a Greek town councillor according to circumstances.

Until now the psychological processes behind cultural change have not been explored; scholars have focused on the motives for which people may have adopted elements of 'Roman' culture and/or adapted these for their own purposes, but in many cases they may not have been aware that these elements were Roman. Nor would they have thought that in doing so they were making a radical break with their previous cultural identity; such changes would have occurred very slowly in most cases, with people gradually adapting to the cultural choices that were available. For example, modern people drinking Coca-Cola do not usually consider this a radical change in their identity, but are simply choosing something that is attractive to them. In this volume

25 Dench (1995, 213). Which elements of identity are most important for a people or individual depends on the situation; one did not have to speak Latin to be a Roman citizen, for example. See Woolf (1995, 14–16).

26 Hodos (2010, 15). See Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 29).

27 Huskinson (2000, 10).

Josipa Lulić investigates the psychological processes behind cultural change, discussing new insights from the cognitive theory of culture. She emphasizes that the strict opposition between 'Roman' and 'local', which is often maintained—even unconsciously—by modern scholars, was not on the mind of most people in Antiquity. People normally have a certain set of acceptable cultural choices in their minds, and make their choice according to what is appropriate in the circumstances; the people of the Roman Empire were no different in this respect.

As we saw above, many people voluntarily adopted elements of Roman culture to create a 'Roman' identity for themselves, to be used when the situation required this; however, a 'Roman' identity did not exclude maintaining a local identity for other situations, as we just noted. It is clear that spread of 'Roman' culture did not reflect a universal desire to become Roman. The adoption of supposedly 'Roman' cultural elements was seen in older literature as 'self-Romanization': people adopted things like baths or theatres because they wanted to 'become Roman'.[28] However, we should not assume that the use of a certain type of pottery or other 'Roman' object indicates that the user was a Roman (with regard to political status or cultural background). For example, the presence of *terra sigillata* in Gaul does not mean that Gauls using this pottery thought of themselves as Romans, since the meaning associated with an object would not be the same everywhere: "Imported samian pottery might ... incorporate meanings other than that of a simple Roman identity, such as links with kin in other areas.... The arrival of new 'Roman' goods and traits does not prove a clear desire to be seen as 'Roman'."[29] Some among the elites may have aspired to participate in Roman rule and thus, in a sense, to 'become' Romans. One could hardly argue, for example, that the Emperor Trajan saw himself as anything but Roman, even though he was from Spain—but Cassius Dio certainly did not see himself as a Roman only. The arrival of Roman rule and the wider availability of Roman-style material artefacts did not mean that people had to give up their own pre-existing ideas of their own identity; many people who used Roman items must have been only dimly aware of what Rome was and would have found the idea that the item they used was connected with a 'Roman' identity quite ridiculous.

The identity of a group or individual is often perceived differently by outsiders than by insiders. This is especially important with regard to prejudice, which was important when participating in Roman politics and culture.[30]

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28 E.g. Torelli (1995); Campanelli (2004, 27–8).

29 Hingley (2005, 45). See Woolf (1998, 176–80); Antonaccio (2010).

30 Dench (1995); Huskinson (2000, 10).

Romans were not always eager to accept provincials as equals, neither in a political and legal nor in an ideological sense. The definition of who was a Roman was strictly defined: Roman citizenship was unique in the sense that it did not depend on someone's ethnic or cultural origins. It was a legal status which could be conferred on those who had achieved a certain ideal state of being, which was defined as *humanitas* or *Romanitas*. This ideal was in theory reachable by all: "*Humanitas* defined an ideal state of being ... [those] who had not achieved its goals might succeed, given the correct circumstances."[31] Once they had achieved this ideal, "Roman expansion and colonialism delimited a new and fairly level playing field where such games could be played with a degree of order and for higher stakes. Here ethnic origins counted for very little"—again, elites across the Empire shared a similar culture.[32] Cassius Dio is a particularly good example of such an 'international' player, as Burden-Strevens illustrates here; the same goes for Dio Chrysostom (see Blanco-Pérez). Since he possessed the essential qualities of *humanitas*, namely a good classical education and an understanding of Roman politics and social mores, he was accepted as a member of the elite of the Roman Empire. At the same time he was able to maintain the profile of a Greek intellectual, considering himself a direct heir of Greek traditions going back to the fifth century BC.

Many new cultural options were made available by the *pax Romana*, created by Rome's gradual conquest of the Mediterranean, which opened new markets and introduced new crops and technologies into many parts of the Empire; as Argüelles shows for the mines of Asturias and Le Quéré for the minerals of Melos, a greater demand for these products occurred exactly because the Roman state increased the market for such products. Not only elites profited from this, although they could certainly exploit these opportunities to their own advantage, as the leaders of the Samnite settlement of Monte Vairano did (see Scopacasa). But in fact many, if not most, people came into contact with Rome in one way or another, either through military service or engagement with economic exploitation, for example people migrating to the various mining areas of the Empire (see Hirt). Even small farmers who did not migrate beyond their villages experienced some economic and cultural changes as a result of Rome's expansion.

People used Roman institutions, such as laws and coinage, and even if they did not employ these to showcase a Roman identity, the fact that they used Roman institutions in itself created a closer connection between them and the Romans. Furthermore, the political expansion of Rome created an

31 Hingley (2005, 63). See Terrenato (2005, 66).

32 Terrenato (2005, 68). See Huskinson (2000, 19).

economic network uniting the whole Mediterranean, with trade routes secured by Roman military might. The subjects of the Empire often engaged with these new opportunities independently from Rome, but the presence of these opportunities was due to Rome's political control. As we just saw, it is important to remember that most economic and cultural opportunities "were not necessarily bound up with 'being Roman', but they were unthinkable without the institutions, materials, and rituals provided by the empire".[33] In this sense, we might speak of 'institutional' or 'economic' Romanization, even if the term Romanization should be avoided for cultural developments.

Despite all these opportunities and possibilities offered to provincials, we should keep in mind that the Roman conquest was not a universally positive experience: "Protoracist views about the inferiority of 'barbarian' peoples helped to justify war, subjugation, mass murder, enslavement, and exploitation on an unprecedented scale across vast territories."[34] Although it cannot be denied that living standards on average grew and that many people profited from their incorporation into the Roman state, the violence of conquest must not be forgotten. After the conquest, rather than striving for integration and connectedness as aims in themselves, the main goal of the Romans was to gather material wealth from the conquered territories: "The Roman Empire was not run on altruistic lines; it developed mechanisms for the exploitation of land and people."[35] Although there were undoubtedly benefits to being part of the Roman state, the Romans were mostly concerned with effectively exploiting the economic and manpower resources of their subjects—at Melos for example, or in the trade between Italy and the transalpine regions (for which see Gregoratti in this volume), Romans were at the head of the economic chain. Locals benefited from these economic activities, but they were not in control of them. 'Romanization' therefore was the result of elite negotiation and native agency, but this agency was only available to those who had survived the conquest and remained loyal to Rome, especially the elites.[36] Furthermore, if local elites who had received citizenship wanted to be fully accepted into Roman society, they had to confirm to the Roman ideal, without much leeway for deviant ideas; they 'negotiated' their identities, but within the context of "rules that were not entirely of their own making".[37] The extent of agency among the Italics

33 Roth (2007, 9).

34 Mattingly (2011, 212). See Isaac (2004) for proto-racism.

35 Mattingly (2011, 164; see 23–5).

36 Mattingly (2011, 38).

37 Hingley (2005, 48).

of the Republican period, or the provincials of the Empire, was therefore limited by Roman political dominance and by the changes in the shape of the economic networks of the Mediterranean through their integration in the economy of the Empire as a whole.

## 'Points of Contact' and Local Agency

In this volume several points of contact and their impact on cultural change will be discussed. As we noted above, a clearer understanding of the contexts in which Romans interacted with locals is essential if we really want to understand how the political dominance of the Roman Empire led to cultural change on the regional and local level. Therefore this volume will examine several case studies in which such interactions are investigated, in order to see whether any commonalities can be identified.

### *The Roman Republic*

The first section of this book explores processes of integration in the Roman Republic. Firstly, Rafael Scopacasa analyses the role of the elite of Samnium in shaping their own economic power and social status, profiting from Rome's expansionist policy, but acting in fact independently from Rome. He takes as an example the import of wine from Rhodes and Cnidus to the Samnite hill fort of Monte Vairano. The elites of this settlement were not only including themselves in new exchange networks, but also demonstrated that they were discriminating consumers, familiar with the parameters of 'good taste' that defined the rising imperialist elites on a Mediterranean-wide level. The ability of Samnite elites to acquire Rhodian wine functioned as a new method for social differentiation in their home community, but also served to show their Roman guest-friends—and overlords!—that they possessed 'Hellenic credentials' and should therefore be accepted as equals.

In the next article Marleen Termeer shows how Italian communities reacted to the expansion of economic networks in their policy of minting coins. The First Punic War can be considered an integrative event: it caused more communities to produce coinage and the spectrum of coinages produced became more uniform, both in weights and in types. This also meant that different communities in Italy became more familiar with each other through the use of each other's coinages. None of these coinages were very 'Roman' in nature, but Rome did create the circumstances in which local communities started their own production; local coinage production was both influenced by and contributed to broader and more intensive contacts throughout Italy.

Maurizio Gualtieri then explores the impact of the settlement of a Roman colony, Buxentum, on the surrounding territory. Although settlement patterns showed a remarkable shift in the period when the colony was settled, it is difficult to connect these changes directly to the, rather small, colonial settlement; rather, they may be seen as the result of the internal socio-political dynamics of the local population. Nevertheless, the impact of the colony should not be disregarded; it was still one of the factors that influenced local settlement developments.

Finally, Fiona Tweedie explores how and why Italian elites in the first century BC maintained a non-Roman identity and how they used this to their advantage in the political arena, by exploring how the Caecinae of Volaterrae in Etruria managed to survive the political upheavals of the first century BC through their connections with Roman politicians. The increasing influence of Rome on local events in the first century BC meant that local men had to carefully negotiate their position *vis-à-vis* Rome, in order to maintain power locally and to achieve political office in Rome; but the mechanisms by which this was done, such as *hospitium* and *amicitia*, were essentially the same as in previous centuries.

### *Local Studies in the Roman Empire*

In the second section the processes of integration in the Roman Empire are explored; it will be clear that many of the people in the provinces adopted very similar mechanisms of dealing with the Roman presence as the Italians in the Republican period had done. The studies in this section focus especially on the Greek East, where the interaction between the Greek dominant culture and Rome as the dominant power created very interesting results.

Aitor Blanco-Pérez studies Apamea, one of the few colonies in Asia Minor, and shows that members of the provincial elite actively shaped their own identity and that of their home towns, using both Greek and Roman elements. The Western settlers of the colony were perfectly aware of their origin, rights, and privileges, but their defence of their privileged condition did not prevent them from interacting with their Greek environment. This community and other Roman colonies in Asia Minor acted in a Greek fashion, even though its citizens were Roman settlers; clearly Roman citizenship and participation in local culture were not mutually exclusive.

A rather more aggressive policy by the Roman settlers seems to have taken place in Patras, where the colonists were eager to express their identities, as Tamara Dijkstra explains. Roman colonists were buried in the most prestigious and conspicuous parts of the pre-existing necropolis, with funerary inscriptions exclusively in Latin. The previous inhabitants, who certainly remained in

the town, are completely absent from the funerary record. It seems that local agency in the face of an influx of Roman colonists was very limited.

In the late Imperial period cultural change still involved the same interplay between a dominant power and local agency, but the identity of the actors changed. As Alexander Rubel investigates, the town of Ibida (Rumania) gradually incorporated new immigrants, nomads from the steppe peoples. These people maintained many parts of their own culture, most notably skull deformation; yet at the same time Ibida was a flourishing trade settlement, officially part of the Eastern Roman Empire, with both Romans and steppe peoples interacting peacefully.

### *'Points of Contact': Economic Interaction*

As we noted before, the Romans were especially eager to exploit the material resources of the Empire. Interaction between Romans and others occurred for various economic reasons. For example, wide-ranging trade links created networks spanning the whole Roman Empire. Being part of the Roman state was often beneficial for Italians and provincials; on the other hand, the exploitative nature of some operations, such as mining, should not be forgotten. The importance of these activities is clear from the large number of studies on economic issues appearing in this volume.

Firstly, Patricia Argüelles Alvárez investigates the mines of Asturias in Spain and especially the roads and paths opening up the mining area for exploitation. Although the landscape was articulated at first according to military needs, trading activity started as soon as the region was secured. This slowly created new ways to stimulate the economy of the region; the mining activities eventually led to great changes in local economy, social structures, and cultural expressions, partially as the result of active engagement by the local population.

Alfred Hirt then explores the actual activities in mining areas as focal points for interaction. The Romans did not simply exploit the local population; instead the locals could also gain from their work at the mines and were in fact indispensable in the exploitation of minerals. It is possible that some of these people were forced by the Roman state to resettle and work in the mines, but the large variety of people attracted by the mines, e.g. in Dalmatia, strongly suggests that many people actively sought to be involved in developing these mines. Nevertheless, these opportunities were in the end controlled and managed by the Roman state.

Enora Le Quéré then investigates the extraction of minerals from the Greek island of Melos; as in the mines investigated by Hirt, the exploitation was in the hands of Roman landowners, but the local population also played an

important role, which was essential for the industry to function at all. Many island communities in the Aegean and many individual islanders were able to profit from this industry; the fact that the Roman Empire had conquered the Mediterranean was responsible for a large rise in the demand for these mineral products, which would otherwise not have existed in any case.

A similar case may be seen in the trade between northern Italy and the transalpine area. These trade routes were ultimately controlled by Romans, especially from Aquileia, Leonardo Gregoratti shows that local people worked closely together with these Romans in order to facilitate trade. This enabled them to reach positions of power in their own communities. However, the Roman families in charge of this trade could decide to use their own agents if they preferred, so that the profit of local population depended on the wishes of the dominant Roman merchants.

### *'Points of Contact': Military Contexts*

Service in the Roman army has often been considered an important method of integration for people from all over the Empire. While this is undoubtedly true, service could sometimes be a cause of resistance rather than integration.

Christopher Sparey-Green investigates the evidence for the training and recruitment of Britons into the Roman army. He argues that recruiting locals into the Roman army would have been an effective way of controlling the warriors of the conquered society and to harness their abilities for the use by the Roman state. These possibilities were often welcomed by the indigenous people for the opportunities they offered, but could also cause resistance, especially in the period immediately following the conquest. Once the conquered people were fully pacified, service in the army was one of the most effective ways of achieving cultural integration: through their service, provincial soldiers were imbued with a strong sense of connection to the Empire and came to share a powerful military identity.[38]

### *Religious and Cultural Interaction*

Religion was an important part of people's identity; furthermore, temples and sanctuaries were important meeting places for people from different backgrounds. Literature was one way in which people and communities, both in Italy and the provinces, could express and invent their identity.

38 See Haynes.

The last section of this volume discusses the role of religion and literature in the integration of the Empire. Firstly, Daniele Miano studies the cults of Virtues, e.g. Salus, Fortuna, et cetera, in the Roman Republic. These cults certainly originated in the Latin cultural sphere, but could be appropriated independently by the peoples of Italy. Their spread may be compared to that of the Latin language: different individuals or communities appropriated Virtues independently from Rome and one another, for personal reasons that can no longer be precisely reconstructed. Thus they played an essential role in the construction of a cultural *koine* in ancient Italy, which was, however, not directly influenced by Rome.[39]

Elisabeth Buchet investigates the role played by Roman writers in the literary integration of Latium. Most towns had actively created their own religious and literary identities in the Republic, but during the Augustan period many towns were ascribed specific characteristics, which were then turned into literary *topoi*—fixed, immobile identities which remained in use for the rest of Roman history. Thus identity, as an active creation by the people involved, was turned into folklore, and local political autonomy and cultural identity disappeared at the same time as Latium and Italy came to be glorified in poetry. Thus Augustan poetry in a way deprived local actors of their own way of expressing an independent identity.

Finally, Christopher Burden-Strevens analyses the cultural identity of Cassius Dio, as mentioned above. His *Roman History* supports a reading of Cassius Dio as politically Roman, but culturally Greek. His most 'Roman' identity is displayed in discussing the diplomatic relations of the Empire, when he portrays himself as a Roman administrator. At other times he displays his Greek cultural heritage, which is clearly a source of pride for him. These political and cultural identities should not be separated, as they certainly were not in Dio's mind—as Lulić has shown, such psychological processes were mostly unconscious and would not have caused the person involved any psychological stress.

## Conclusion

This volume necessarily covers a large variety of topics spread through a long period of Roman history. Nevertheless, some common themes appear. Many of the same developments are visible in the Republican and imperial period in many separate areas, suggesting that there were certain 'points of contact'

39 See Di Fazio (2012) for a similar conclusion on the cult of Feronia.

which remained important in the integration of the Roman state overall. We can see, for example, that the exploitation of economic resources was a major concern for the Roman state in both periods. The Italic elites during the Republic often managed successfully to control the flow of wealth, and it may be that they, once they had joined the political elite of the Empire (as the Caecinae did), used this experience in exploiting the resources of the Empire.

It is also clear that the degree of agency for local elites was large throughout the period under consideration: the Samnites of Monte Vairano and the Italic towns minting coinage cleverly exploited the new opportunities offered by the expansion of the Roman state, as did the people of Melos, Asturias, Dalmatia, and the Transalpine regions, who worked in mineral extraction and trade. Cultural agency was similarly great, as demonstrated by the Italic towns adopting the cults of Virtues, but also by the experience of Cassius Dio. Nevertheless, there were limits to the amount of agency that the Romans allowed their subjects, whether in cultural or economic affairs: in Patras the locals became completely invisible, while in all cases of economic interaction explored in this volume the leading positions were in the hands of Romans, and the cultural identity of Tibur was fossilized by Roman writers.

We may conclude, therefore, that the processes of integration in the Roman world were complex and could take very different forms in different regions. The amount of agency on the part of local inhabitants varied greatly, but in most cases they were not completely autonomous in their choices; even if there was no direct Roman involvement in their administration or economy, the economic and social opportunities and cultural choices they had were created by Roman conquest and the political integration of these regions into the Roman Empire.

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CHAPTER 1

# Theorizing Romanization. Cognition and Cultural Change in Roman Provinces: A Case of Religious Change in Roman Dalmatia

*Josipa Lulić*

## Introduction

The topic of Romanization has featured prominently in discussion of the Roman provinces. The archaeological material and written sources from the provinces have to be discussed in the light of cultural change, even if the issue of Romanization is not directly addressed. This conceptualization of cultural change became the focus of theoretical debates in the last decade of the twentieth century, and is still often discussed.[1] Scholars of the early twentieth century were clear on the question of what Romanization was: the improvement of living conditions, civilization, progress, in short the education of the barbarians. The term 'Romanization', coined in the early twentieth century,[2] was used for the larger part of the century, and is still predominant in the discourse on cultural change outside the Anglo-Saxon academic world. Romanization was thus understood as a process originated in the presence of Romans on the territory of a province, which resulted in a change in the culture of the natives, who became more Roman.[3] And in the words of Haverfield, one of the first scholars to tackle the question of Romanization in the West, it was an easy task, since "here Rome found races that were not yet civilized, yet were racially capable of accepting her culture".[4] Conversely, for the Eastern provinces the term *resistance* was the main concept, where the attention was mostly directed at the survival of the (again explicitly or implicitly superior) Greek culture.[5]

1 Merryweather & Prag (2002).
2 Freeman, (1997); Hingley (1997).
3 Millett (1990, 1).
4 Haverfield (1923, 5).
5 It has been postulated that even if the Greeks appeared Roman for pragmatic reasons, they would not have felt like it: Madsen (2006, 78).

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Scholars in the later twentieth century were less sure: in the light of the new world born after the fall of the great colonizing empires, they opened a new debate on the concepts of Romanization as well. Postcolonial theory concentrated on the experiences of the 'conquered people',[6] and postmodernism on the questions of different identities that all played a part in the process of cultural change.[7] The term Romanization suffered strong criticism and almost became a dirty word, the evidence of theoretical illiteracy. Postcolonial theory debunked the old 'progress' paradigm: Millett for example explicitly defines himself in his book as belonging to "the post-imperial generation" that is "unwilling to accept the paternalistic view that the Britons did what they were told by the Romans because it represented *progress*".[8] He insists on dialectical change and revises the argument of Romanization concentrating on the role of the local elites in the spontaneous acceptance of Roman customs.[9] Millett's argument was not fully welcomed, and Keppie's words in the review of Millett's book, namely, "not all readers may care for the deluge of sociological cult-phrases which the author sprinkles into his narrative such as 'status competition', 'social elites' and 'wealth hierarchies' ",[10] mirror many Roman archaeologists who are distrustful of the use of theory in the interpretation of material from the Roman time.

Although scholars are still in search of new terminology and theory that would encompass the cultural changes on the Italian peninsula and later in the provinces of the Empire (frontrunners being 'discrepant experiences',[11] creolization,[12] and globalization[13]), a certain consensus has been reached. Even if we do not know what exactly the new concept of cultural change is, we know what it is not: a single-directional and one-dimensional process. And regardless of the distrust some Roman archaeologists show towards the theoretical approach and towards the borrowing of methods from social sciences, the discussion of Romanization has become increasingly prominent in the theoretical circles.

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6 For a good overview of the postcolonial theory see Childs & Williams (1997).

7 On discussion on identities and culture from the postmodern perspective see Featherstone (1995).

8 Millett (1990, xv). See also Laurence & Berry (1998).

9 This view was met with the criticism of that is diminished the intentional role of Roman state: Mattingly (2004, 6–7); Woolf (1997, 10).

10 Keppie (1991, 415).

11 Mattingly & Alcock (1997).

12 Webster (1997).

13 Witcher (2000).

### The Importance of Theory

The definition of *ethnicity* was often discussed during the second half of the twentieth century, heavily influenced by Barth's work that suggested *culture* as one of the main characteristics of an ethnic group.[14] Following that reasoning, the acculturated ethnic (native) group becomes a different ethnic group all together: everyone becomes Roman in the end. Bartel pointed out how often in the archaeological literature all the agents were seen as monolithic structures with fixed social norms (Romans as well as barbarians).[15] However, 'acculturation' is not, it has been repeated extensively, a monolithic and simple term: it is important to understand the processes of cultural change in order to understand its consequences, and those processes are still debated. The discussion has been about individual responses,[16] the neglecting of the non-elites[17] and the intentionality of Roman politics.[18] Mattingly, Hingley, Jones, and Webster,[19] among others, all insist that the main problem of the discussion of Romanization is the wrong premise, that of thinking in monolithic groups and processes. Woolf highlights the need to thoroughly de-colonize the discourse by accepting that we are dealing with a new culture that replaced both the old 'Roman' and the 'native' ones.[20] So scholars agree that we are dealing with a multiform and dynamic process that needs to account for much more than the simple Romans vs. natives dichotomy. But how can we conceptualize this? Are we to say there are no regularities, and abandon all theory?

Mattingly, although cautious in using theory,[21] stresses its importance: since we usually do not have any preserved texts, we must be able to interpret archaeological data in a coherent manner.[22] And texts too cannot be taken at face value. Even if we had the voices of the non-elite, women, slaves, etc., those would have to be decoded and interpreted as well.[23] So theory is indispensible, if for no other reason than for the fact that our minds are wired to create categories and structure, to look for similarities and construct theories of the world around us. Our cognition works through a series of modular schemata,

14 Barth (1967, 11).
15 Bartel (1980, 12).
16 Hingly, (1997, 97).
17 Webster (2001, 210).
18 Hanson (1997).
19 Hingley (1997); Jones (1997); Mattingly (1997); Webster (2001).
20 Woolf (1997, 341).
21 On the danger of academic 'fads' see Mattingly (2004, 6).
22 Mattingly (2004, 6–7).
23 Woolf (2006, 93).

shortcuts used by our brains for data analysis. This concept known in the philosophy of mind from Kant onwards[24] was studied especially closely in the second half of the twentieth century, following the so-called cognitive revolution.[25] We are predisposed through our cognitive architecture to look for patterns, to fill in gaps and to create continuous lines out of fragments, as proven by extensive research on vision.[26] That does not mean that those patterns and categories really exist; they only serve as maps to allow us to navigate more easily through life. And like maps, they are almost completely untrue.[27] This is what Bourdieu recognizes when he talks about his theory of practice: "[H]owever close it may come to the logic of practices, the abstract diagram which has to be constructed in order to account for that logic is liable to obscure the fact that the driving force of the whole mechanism is not some abstract principle (...) still less the set of *rules* which can be derived from it, but (...) a disposition inculcated in the earliest years of life, and constantly reinforced by calls onto order from the group, that is to say, from the aggregate of the individuals endowed with the same disposition, to whom each is linked by his disposition and interests."[28] Barrett also insists on differentiating the knowledge of something from the reality of it. His claim that we can go as far as asking ourselves "did the Roman Empire really exist?" and answering "no",[29] calls to attention the problem of reifying knowledge structures: the knowledge about the world, that is, what creates the structure, cannot exist outside the agency.

It may just be that Bourdieu's critique of theoretical reason may be applied to the discussion about Romanization, but we should be careful not to deny the usability of theoretical reasoning, much as we should never deny the usability of a map. It must be always taken into consideration that a map as well as a theory is necessarily a fallacy, and we must keep in mind the fact that the situation in the field might be somewhat different. However, we cannot

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24 Kant (1786/1855, 225 and *passim*); Popper (1935/2002, xv–xvi); Boden (2006, 92).

25 Cosmides & Tooby (1992); Guthrie (1993); Bargh & Chartrand (1996); Sommerhoff (2000); Boyer & Ramble (2001); Barrett, Tugade et al. (2004).

26 Solso (1994).

27 Hogg & Abrams (1988). This basic aspect of cognitive architecture is extremely interesting to observe in the context of critical reading of the literature. Categories distort our perceptions: we can see this for example in the work of Haverfield. His belief that the Romans easily civilized barbarians led to his perception of material culture in Western provinces as uniform, "spread from the Mediterranean throughout central and western Europe, driving out native art and substituting a conventionalized copy of Graeco-Roman or Italian art"; Haverfield (1923, 6).

28 Bourdieu (1977, 14–15).

29 Barrett, (1997, 57).

approach the material without categorizing and interpreting it; it is how our minds work. What we can do is use different theories to widen the possibilities of our perception, and to ask different questions to the material. The desire to organize *noumena* and phenomena into categories is something that is innate to the human mind, to its modular and schematic organisation.[30]

'Culture' and 'society' are empty concepts that cannot have agency in the traditional way: the idea that economy is responsible for cultural change is the reification of an abstract concept, a fallacy that often occurs in our daily life. We hear that 'money makes the world go round', but money is a socially constructed category that functions only because we provide it with meaning, and modify our behaviour accordingly. And while money has a heavily regulated and strictly proscribed meaning, cultural institutions often do not. And even when they do (Christianity for example has a number of theological books and prescriptions), research shows that cognitive processes often largely differ from the dogma. Those occurrences, being as large as syncretistic elements of Christianity in South America or Africa,[31] or as small as showing the automatic, unconscious beliefs in the temporality of god in an on-line cognition task,[32] are seen as mistakes from the theological point of view, but for the researcher who is interested in what people believe and how they express it, they are all equally important. Bourdieu's comparison of social institutions with "the teaching of tennis, the violin, chess, dancing, or boxing" that "breaks down into individual positions, steps, or moves, practices which integrate all these"[33] is similar to Sperber's definition of culture as a "precipitate of cognition and communication":[34] both constructs approach culture bottom-up, building a phantasmagorical structure out of single occurrences, a structure that does not exist outside people's cognition and behaviour. Cultural institutions are ever more frequently defined more flexibly, as dynamic and constantly changing constructs.[35]

The basic idea in the cognitive approach to Romanization is to concentrate on an area that was so often neglected: the very processes that lead to cultural change in a specific chronological and geographical frame, always keeping in mind the bottom-up construction of cultural institutions. Knowledge

30 Fodor (1981); Farah (1990); Hirschfeld & Gelman (1994).

31 Gort (1989).

32 Barrett (1999).

33 Bourdieu (1977, 18).

34 Sperber (1996, 90).

35 A major premise of the new approaches is that religion is dynamic, constantly adapting to the changing structure of society; Häussler, King & Andrews (2007/8, 7).

of the processes of learning and transmitting cultural concepts can help us to reverse-engineer interpretations out of the remains of material culture that we have. If we approach cultural change from the processes, we gain a possibility to study it without insisting on an all-encompassing theory. We can approach them bottom-up, diminishing the confirmation bias, and the subconscious (or sometimes conscious) need to adapt the evidence to theory. On the other hand, this is not a system that ignores theory. It allows for a construction of models which can be used as hypotheses in other research: the human mind is not a blank slate; it has innate, evolutionarily adapted predispositions. Those do not translate into rules though: the similarities we see between different cultures in space and time are products of a psychological bottleneck of the processes of cognition and communication, and not of the agency of cultural institutions. And if we accept that culture is not its parts plus a magic substance that increases the sum of its parts, but a product of material processes and activities of human minds and agents in their environment, we are given another criterion to evaluate explanatory theories.

## Two Case Studies: Religion in the Roman Province of Dalmatia

The integration of the province of Dalmatia in the Roman world has rarely been a subject of theoretical debates. Scholarly interest has focused mostly on single finds and sites, and systematic explanations were offered mainly indirectly, taking a few theoretical constructs for granted. The first one was that of traditional Romanization, a one-way process of advanced Romans who brought prosperity and innovation;[36] another being that of silent resistance of the stubborn natives who kept their own ideas, religion and culture, thus defying the Roman colonizers.[37] So how do those ideas fare confronted with material? We shall discuss two cases of religious sculpture from the province.

36 The Roman period was mostly discussed as a unity, opposed to the earlier Illyrian period, similar to the Haverfield's concept of the Romanization of Britain. Note for example Sanader's discussion of provincial archaeology in Croatia: "Roman provincial archaeology is a branch that entails research into all aspects of Roman activity in its provinces" (Sanader (2006, 145); see "The autochthonous population which awaited the Roman occupation lived in harmony with nature. (…) However, the progressive Roman citizens, having just arrived to the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea or the interior, began to intervene in the environment" (Sanader 2006, 150).

37 Cfr. Rendić Miočević (1989, 425–6) on the Illyrians: "We find many aspects that survived due to those people who struggled and fought for centuries, on the battlefield and in their

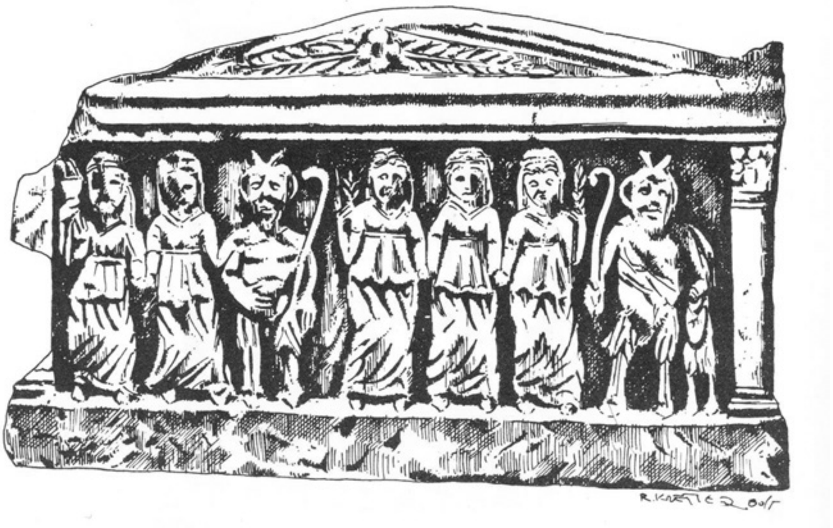

FIGURE 1.1 *Two Silvani and the Nymphs. Franciscan Monastery in Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

The first example is that of a relief found in Roman Dalmatia, near Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina (figure 1.1).[38]

It is a one meter long limestone relief that depicts seven frontal figures, five of them fully dressed female figures with different attributes, and two zoo-anthropomorphic figures with goat's legs and horns and a human upper body. The figures are enclosed in an architectural aedicule with Corinthian-style columns carrying a decorated pediment. The female figures were interpreted as Nymphs, and the male ones as Silvani. The relief is one out of more than fifty found in the Delmatae tribe area where the deity is depicted as a horned zoo-anthropomorphic figure iconographically similar to the Arcadian Pan, and referred to as Silvanus in the inscriptions,[39] and it has often been discussed in the context of *interpretatio romana*.[40] The idea of *interpretatio romana* has often been conceptualized as a way to accommodate foreign deities into the

homes, in everyday life and in craftsmanship, to preserve their individuality, national characteristics and faithfulness to tradition".

38 Paškvalin (1963, 135; 1964, 151–5, fig. 1); Imamović (1977, 330, fig. 34); Rendić Miočević (1989, 514–17, table LXXXVIII); Perinić Muratović (2008, 97, no. 67).

39 Rendić Miočević (1955); Perinić Muratović (2008).

40 Rendić Miočević (1955); Bekavac (2011); Dzino (2013).

Roman pantheon, as a feature of 'Romanization', and thus as conforming to the Classical ideal.[41] It has been discussed in terms of power relations and the prestige that association with Roman gods would have, but rarely has the process itself been discussed: how the new concept was introduced, transferred, learned and experienced.[42] Roman Silvanus is distinctly different in his appearance from the Dalmatian god: he is purely anthropomorphic, and has a different set of attributes: a *pedum* and *syrinx* in place of the *falx* or pine branch.[43] The extreme popularity of the deity in visual representations and in epigraphy (Dorcey puts Dalmatia in the top three of provinces with representations of Silvanus),[44] as well as iconographic discrepancies, were the main reasons for the interpretation of the finds as *interpretatio romana* of an (unknown) Illyrian deity.

But from the point of view of the psychological processes that form cultural concepts, it is hard to accept this view as presented. The idea that parents would transfer to a child an unchanged concept of an Illyrian deity, while masking it as a Roman one, proves quite improbable when placed against the processes of concept learning and cultural transfer. Not all cultural information can be intentionally transmitted:[45] mostly the learner is presented with an explicit cue that triggers ontological patterns, which are reinforced and finely tuned by conformist transmission.[46] The idea about an Illyrian deity lurking in the guise of a Roman name yielded not only the overall interpretation but a specific kind of grouping. There are in fact two types: a young, beardless one, and one more resembling the Greek Pan. The dichotomy of the bearded versus the beardless Silvanus stems from the idea that there used to be a single concept of a deity that was contaminated in the coastal region by the Greek image.[47] That interpretation on the other hand does not account for the Jajce relief and the two Silvani on it, nor does it help explain other inconsistencies: the fact that Silvanus is almost always depicted alone in Salona, with Nymphs in the hinterland, and with Diana in the Glamoč area, as well as clear formal and iconographic differences within the region.[48]

41 Webster (1997, 331).
42 Ando (2005); Cadotte (2007).
43 Nagy (1994).
44 Dorcey (1992, 69).
45 Schönpflug (2008, 3).
46 Boyer (1994).
47 Rendić Miočević (1955).
48 For a more detailed account of those differences see Lulić (2014).

FIGURE 1.2 *Silvanus from Salona. Archaeological Museum in Split, Croatia.*

Cognitive theory may offer another explanation. If we consider religious concepts (as any other cultural concept for that matter), in their beginnings at least, as a reduction of all possible concepts created in the human mind to a few chosen ones that could be considered cultural,[49] the spatial distribution of the finds as well as their iconographic differences make much more

49 Guthrie (1993); Boyer (1994).

sense. The human mind puts things into boxes to allow for an easier way of navigating through the world. It does so by accentuating the similarities and ignoring the differences between two groups, and creating a fictional reality that creates the 'structure' as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The concept of Silvanus with Nymphs most probably originated from a different set of ideas than the Silvanus in Salona, where he is central to the composition and can hardly be depicted twice, but through a series of transmissions of the concept in an environment filled with concepts as new and unfamiliar to the native as to the Roman population, both were put through the process of abstraction under the same umbrella-name of Silvanus (figure 1.2).

And although the Salona type is central to the composition, and often surrounded by his attributes, the Silvanus with the Nymphs type is always put in the corner of the composition, and using his attributes (figure 1.3).

FIGURE 1.3 *Silvanus and the Nymphs from Klis. Archaeological Museum in Split, Croatia.*

The Salona type is thus never doubled, but we have confirmation on inscriptions of other groups of Nymphs, that could bring with them the adjoining Silvani.[50] The bottom-up model for the creation of a religious concept can therefore account for the apparently strange image of two Silvani in the Jajce relief, and it shows that the theory of native resistance that kept its main divinity must be taken with caution, for it presupposes a single concept from which Silvanus originated. On the other hand, the theory of resistance allows us to look for the possibility of different concepts that could have interfered with that of the Roman Silvanus in the creation of the Dalmatian divinity, the possibility neglected by scholars such as Dorcey or Nagy,[51] who concentrated exclusively on the Roman concept of Silvanus.

The second case study is that of a sarcophagus fragment from Narona[52] depicting two male figures on pedestals under two arcades. In the first naked beardless male figure, with strong musculature, lion skin draped over his left shoulder and a leash in his right hand, we easily recognize Hercules depicted in the scene of capturing Cerberus (who is not preserved). In the second arcade we see a naked male figure in a travel cloak, with *caduceus* and *petasos*, easily identified as Mercury. Both figures are in low relief, standing on pedestals, showing that they are statues depicted in relief.[53] One of the arches in the fragment is preserved completely, of the other one, with Hercules underneath it, about three quarters remains. If we reconstruct the sarcophagus with five equally wide arcades on the front side, the width of the sarcophagus would come to *ca*. 2.5 m, which corresponds to the typological characteristics of columnar sarcophagi, which normally had an odd number of arches, usually five,[54] as well as to the average size of Dalmatian sarcophagi.[55] The sarcophagus

50 An inscription from Klapavice mentions both different types of Nmphs, and with each one mentions Silvanus separately: *Nymphis fontanis cum Sil/ [van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano* (Sinobad (2010, 189–90). Also interesting is the use of the conjuction *cum* instead of *et*.

51 Dorcey (1992); Nagy (1994).

52 The fragment is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zadar, inv. no. A2303. Dimension of the fragment are length: 0,93, height: 0,65 and the wall thickness 0,12 m. See Hirschfeld & Schneider (1885, 50–1); Patsch (1899, 505, fig. 1); Cambi (1980, 137, tab. 17); Sanader (1986, 116, fig. 140; 1994, 90, no. 9).

53 On the role of the statues in Roman society and depictions of statues in relief: Stewart (2008, 92).

54 Koch (1993, 27–32). Lawrence (1932, 150) states also that the five arches, compared to three on the sarcophagi from Asia Minor, are typical characteristics of columnar sarcophagi from Rome.

55 Cambi (2010).

was most likely produced in the local workshops of Narona.[56] Although the sarcophagi from Salona, both imported and locally produced ones, are well known,[57] from Narona we only have a few examples, since the swampy terrain under which the necropolis lies prevents archaeological research.[58]

What is interesting in this particular example is the depiction of Mercury. He is a Roman deity, which relies greatly on its Greek counterpart of Hermes, but with its own distinct features. Although the emphasis in the Greek case is largely on its role as a psychopomp,[59] it is not so for the Roman deity—its main feature is the purse that emphasizes his connection with money and *negotia*.[60] And although in Roman Dalmatia there are depictions of Mercury in his traditional role, with the traditional Roman iconographic features—mostly in applied arts, on glass cups and in bronze figurines,[61]—there is also a distinct cluster of reliefs depicting Mercury in a funerary context, among them our Narona fragment. Among half dozen examples is another sarcophagus, this time from the Archaeological Museum in Split,[62] where Mercury is depicted on a typical seasons sarcophagus,[63] in small scale compared to the other figures, cramped into a small space at the bottom of the sarcophagus almost as an afterthought (figure 1.4).

FIGURE 1.4 *Sarcophagus from Salona. Archaeological Museum in Split, Croatia.*

56 Cambi (1980).
57 Cambi (1975; 1988; 2010).
58 Cambi (1980).
59 Simon & Bauchhenss (1992); Kerenyi (1996).
60 Simon & Bauchhenss (1992).
61 Žanić Protić (1988).
62 Cambi (1975, 260).
63 Koch, Sichtermann & Sinn (1982).

All Dalmatian examples of Mercury in funerary context bear specific iconographic features, unlike the typical Roman ones: the deity has his recognizable *caduceus*, but also carries in his hand a second rod, a feature almost without precedent. Due to categorical thinking, so common to our minds' architecture, those differences were mostly neglected: even when noticed, they were discarded as non-important, a mistake, or a misunderstanding. If we apply cognitive theory to understand the processes behind such 'mistakes', we can come to different conclusions. Religious concepts are communicated through action (religious rituals), speech (talking about the concept, poetry, tales, etc.), and visual representations (cult statues, applied arts, reliefs on sarcophagi). Our brain is modular and functions in parallel processing: in that way a different medium for concept transmission also embeds different parts of its meaning, often in such a way to produce the outer repository of our cognition, serving almost as a part of cognitive architecture.[64] A concept is not a thing—it is an abstract that is derived from a series of different concepts in different agents' minds. So not only is the concept different from one area of the Graeco-Roman world to another, it is also different in the realm of a single agent depending on the medium in which it is delivered,[65] the action that is performed around it,[66] and general cognitive and emotional state of the agents.[67] In this case we can distinguish at least two different concepts of Mercury in Dalmatia: one is the traditional Roman deity of commerce, the other a deity primarily concerned with death.

## Conclusion

On the one hand, we have the concept of Silvanus; on the other, Mercury. Both, we have seen, different from the Roman ones, but are obviously Roman in provenience. What can this tell us about Romanization? Silvanus, considering the inscriptions and distribution,[68] was mostly worshipped by the local, rural,

64 The extended mind theory pairs agents with the tools they are using into a single cognitive system, conceptualizing some of the ecological elements as the part of the cognitive architecture. The canonical example is that of the Alzheimer patient Otto who writes down information in his notebook, and uses that notebook to bring the information into short-term memory just as someone else would use his long.term memory, see Clark & Chalmers (1998); Dennett (2000); Clark (2008).

65 McLuhan & Fiore (1967).

66 Ratner (1996).

67 Barrett (1999); Barrett (2001).

68 Perinić Muratović (2008).

Illyrian people. On the other hand, considering the prices of sarcophagi,[69] the concept of Dalmatian Mercury was known to the urban elite of Dalmatian cities. In the case of Silvanus we can track bottom-up groupings of individually developed religious concepts that were put under the umbrella of Silvanus; in the case of Mercury a top-down divergence of the idea into different concepts. It is hard to come up with a single model that would explain the development of religion in a province under Roman rule, let alone Romanization as a whole. But what is consistent in both cases is that the processes that led to the development of specific religious concepts were note random, nor were the results. And the understanding of the results has to rely on the understanding of the processes. In both cases the study of processes led to a new interpretation of the material.

That is not to say that theory should be abandoned, by all means. Theories are extremely useful tools for understanding complex processes, but we must not lose sight of the fact that we are talking about abstractions or metaphors, not rules or reified agents. Returning to Bourdieu's account of practice, he is extremely cautious in that regard: "Giving concepts the power to act in history as the words that designate them in the sentences of historical narrative, it personifies collectives and makes them subjects responsible for historical actions (in sentences like 'the bourgeoisie think that …' or 'the working class refuses to accept …'). (…) Thus the notion of the *rule* which can refer indifferently to the regularity immanent in practices (a statistical correlation, for example), the *model* constructed by science to account for it, or the *norm* consciously posited and respected by the agents, allows a fictitious reconciliation of mutually contradictory theories of action."[70]

The processes of integration in the Roman world should be theorized—the grouping and regrouping of material allows us to see different aspects and ask different questions. We should look for a feminist reading or a postcolonial critique, for creolization and globalization, but we should always add a corrective: we should constantly remind ourselves that we are dealing with abstractions, and that those must be set against the possibilities of cognitive processing. Millett, in the preface to his book on the Romanization of Roman Britain, writes: "I shall consider the work to be successful if others judge my arguments to be both internally consistent and consonant with all the evidence available

69 According to an inscription from Salona, for a medium size sarcophagus without decoration one would have to pay fifteen *solidi* in the late thirrd century. This is the amount of money that suffices for basic life needs of a person for five years; see Jongman (2007); Cambi (2010, 46), Russell & Ben (2010, 122).

70 Bourdieu (1977, 37–8).

to me."[71] I am proposing to add another variable to judge anyone's work by: that of the consistency with the possibilities of the human mind.

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71 Millett (1990, xv).

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CHAPTER 2

# An Allied View of Integration: Italian Elites and Consumption in the Second Century BC

*Rafael Scopacasa*

## Introduction

In the second century BC, Italian communities were at a disadvantage because Rome controlled their foreign policy and manpower through treaties of alliance. These communities seem to have benefited from their alliance with Rome to an extent, but the written sources about this period are often retrospective and Rome-centred. In this chapter I employ archaeological evidence to discuss how Italian allies negotiated their integration as active players in the Roman alliance network, by building on their involvement in Mediterranean trade. I will explore these dynamics by focusing on the region of Samnium (central Italy), where a rich body of material evidence challenges the conventional image of local communities as backward groups that consistently opposed Rome.

The archaeological record of Samnium undergoes significant change during the late third and second centuries BC, one aspect of which is the occurrence of Greek wine amphorae in greater quantities than in neighbouring regions. Many of these amphorae have been found in the inland town of Monte Vairano, one of the largest nucleated settlements in the region, which has also yielded several coins from Greece, North Africa, and the Balearics. This thriving community was involved in Mediterranean trade, and may have had links with emporia such as Delos, where Italian and Roman merchants operated together. Monte Vairano is therefore a helpful case study of how local Italian elites manipulated long-ranging trade connections to negotiate their situation in the context of Roman dominance. The preference for Greek wine from specific places (Rhodes and Cnidus) suggests that the local aristocracies were carefully cultivating new styles of consumption. By procuring, consuming, and redistributing imported wine, Samnite elites would have been able to advertise their resourcefulness and cultural credentials. Such self-assertion was probably directed at other Italian elites with whom the Samnite aristocrats at Monte Vairano (and elsewhere) maintained guest-friendship relations. Even

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if we cannot be sure whether any Romans actually went to Monte Vairano, ultimately the evidence reveals the competitive attitude with which this allied community asserted itself despite (or perhaps in response to) their political limitations *vis-à-vis* Rome—an attitude that escalated to open defiance by the early first century BC.

## Setting the Scene: Roman-Italian Relations in the Fourth-Second Centuries BC

Between the mid-fourth century BC and the Social War, Rome's political dominance came to encompass practically all of Italy. The impact of this process on the lives and culture of Italian communities has attracted considerable scholarly attention in the past few decades. Not only did Rome become involved in the affairs of Italians, but also Italians took on roles and responsibilities in the functioning of the Roman state, by serving in the Roman army both at home and overseas, by joining Rome in commercial ventures throughout the Mediterranean, and by marrying into distinguished Roman families.[1]

As allies, the majority of Italians remained officially independent, but were bound by treaty to raise troops for Rome, pay these troops, and follow Roman foreign policy.[2] The availability of allied manpower was crucial for Rome's success. At the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC Italian allies already outnumbered Roman citizen legions, and on the eve of the Hannibalic war they outnumbered the Romans by three to two.[3] When Scipio was organising his African expedition in 205 BC, which ultimately secured Rome's victory in the war, he obtained the necessary resources from Etruscan cities and the manpower from allies in Umbria and the central Apennines.[4]

One reason Italians complied with the Roman demands was that they profited from their association with Rome. They received shares of war spoils, and as veteran soldiers they may have been included in land assignments.[5] Rome supported the aristocracies of allied communities in exchange for their manpower and resources. We hear of many instances in which the Romans seem

1 The literature is vast and constantly increasing. For a representative sample, see Terrenato (1998); Van Dommelen (1998, 2001); Keay & Terrenato (2001); Roth (2007); Pitts (2008); Roselaar (2012a, 2012b, 2012c).

2 Plb. 6.21.5; see also Harris (1971); Bispham (2007a, 35). On treaties see Rich (2008).

3 Cornell (1994, 379).

4 Liv. 28.45.11–12.

5 See, for example, Liv. 31.20.7, 33.23.7, 33.37.12; for further references see Cornell (1994) and Roselaar (2010, 193), who doubts that non-citizens normally received land.

to have protected the interests of local aristocracies by suppressing popular revolts, as appears to have been the case in the Etruscan cities of Arretium and Volsinii in the mid-third century BC. On an economic level, the partnership with Rome afforded the means for Italians to participate in commercial networks that were opened up to them as a result of Roman hegemony in the east Mediterranean. The free port at Delos, which housed a large community of Italian merchants, was created as a result of Roman dominance over the Greek states after the defeat of the Macedonians in 168 BC. The inclusion of Italians, and particularly Italian elites, in these trade networks was brought about by Roman political hegemony.

Yet despite the convergence of interests, there was some discrepancy in the way that Romans and Italians perceived their relationship with each other. On the one hand, the Roman view of Italy as a coherent unit that was under its guardianship may have already been in place by the early third century. The historian Philinus refers to a treaty between Rome and Carthage from before 264 BC, in which Italy was apparently described as Roman domain.[6] The Italians themselves, however, appear to have seen things differently. Polybius implies that at the battle of Telamon in 225 BC, the Italian allies were fighting alongside Rome not out of any subservience, but because of a shared fear of the Gauls, and this suggests that the allies were ultimately moved by their own interests.[7] We should therefore not exaggerate the cohesiveness of the Roman alliance network. A large number of Italian communities that had been allied to Rome since the late fourth century lost no time defecting in the middle of the Hannibalic war, after the Carthaginian victory at Cannae in 216. Even after decades of Roman alliance, Italian states were still capable of deciding on their own foreign policy.[8]

The situation was therefore contradictory. On the one hand, Italian aristocracies will have regarded themselves as Rome's equal partners, especially since the Roman expansion had only been possible because of their support. Yet Italians were surely aware of the asymmetrical power relations that put them in an unfavourable position in regard to Rome. During the second century BC the Roman state grew increasingly protective of its own interests, as is evident in the intransigent and domineering policies that it adopted towards the Italian allies.[9] The tension generated by this unique combination of partner-

6 See Plb. 3.26.2–4, who questions the historicity of this treaty; it may have been the renewal of an earlier treaty from 306 which Liv. 9.43.26 records; see Serrati (2006, 120–9); Fronda (2010, 24).

7 Plb. 2.23.11–3; see Fronda (2010, 28).

8 Fronda (2010, 241).

9 See Bispham (2007a, 113–60).

ship and competition found an outlet in the sphere of culture, where struggles could play out through the assertion of resourcefulness, autonomy and distinctiveness, in such diverse domains as cult, architecture, food consumption, burial, and language.

Because the historical record is mostly retrospective and Rome-centred, it does not readily provide us with an understanding of how the Italian allies perceived and negotiated their own role in this process. However, archaeological evidence can shed light on how the interaction between Italians and Rome explains some of the cultural changes that occur in Italy during the third and second centuries BC. The last two decades have witnessed a surge in new perspectives on the relationship between Roman dominance and cultural change, both in Italy and the Empire.[10] As far as Italy is concerned, there has been a growing realisation that the *koine* culture which appears to spread throughout the peninsula in association with the Roman conquest has marked Hellenistic features. This has led some scholars to suggest that it may be preferable to speak of the "Hellenization" rather than "Romanization" of Italy.[11] In addition, the spread of Hellenizing models and influences can be seen to occur independently of Roman mediation in several cases.[12]

In the remainder of this chapter I will argue that Roman and Italian elites were keen to connect with the Hellenistic world because they were probably competing for what they may have perceived as "Hellenic cultural credentials". It was after the Hannibalic war that the so-called "Hellenizing wave" took hold of Roman art, architecture, and literature, while very similar trends spread throughout Latium and central Italy.[13] These developments do not merely reflect the growing Roman presence in Greece. The growing Hellenistic influences in Rome and Italy after the Hannibalic war developed just as Roman and Italian political involvement in the Greek east soared rapidly.[14] However, the "Hellenizing wave" in Italy should also be viewed in the context of the relationship between Rome and her Italian allies, since it was this relationship that helped to stimulate cultural change. In particular, the archaeological evidence

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10 For a representative sample, see Webster & Cooper (1996); Mattingly (1997; 2004; 2011); Terrenato (1998); Van Dommelen (1998; 2001); Keay & Terrenato (2001); Roth (2007); Pitts (2008); Roselaar (2012a).

11 See the papers collected in Roselaar (2012c). See also Glinister (2006) on religious trends.

12 Wallace-Hadrill (2008).

13 On the so-called 'Hellenizing wave' in Rome see Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 99). Yet Roman views of Greece and Greek culture were far from being one-sided: see, for example, Gruen (1992, 223–71); Erskine (2001). The concept of "Hellenic cultural credentials" builds on Dench's idea of "philhellenic credentials" (Dench 1995, 44–66).

14 Eckstein (2012, esp. chapter 3).

allows us to discuss how Italian allies negotiated their integration as active players in the Roman alliance network, by taking advantage of their involvement in Mediterranean trade and the new range of consumption practices that this involvement afforded.[15] Such dynamics can be explored in considerable detail as regards the region of Samnium in central Italy, for two main reasons. First, Samnium houses a rich body of material evidence, which affords a detailed picture of integration processes in this key area of the peninsula. Second, a focus on Samnium addresses the ongoing need to move beyond the stereotypes of backwardness and one-sided opposition to Rome that still influence modern perceptions of the Samnites.[16]

Samnium is something of a vantage point for investigating the agency of Italian allies, because of the high degree of self-reliance that characterised local communities in their dealings with Rome and other Italian states. For most of the Iron Age (*c.* 1000–400 BC) Samnium was home to chiefdoms headed by aristocratic clans, whose members advertised their wealth and power through funerary display.[17] This scenario began to change from the fourth century BC onwards. Gradually the dominance of Iron Age clans gave way to a more complex type of political organisation that was grounded in formal magistracies. An increase in the number of rural settlements during this period points to economic and demographic growth. Surplus was no longer invested primarily in private funerary display, but rather in more public areas such as fortified settlements and sanctuaries. Some settlements, such as those at Larino, Monte Vairano, and Benevento, underwent a process of nucleation and became exceptionally large by local standards (*c.* 50 ha).[18] For the people living in these towns, social interactions will have had to be mediated by more complex administrative institutions. There is still debate as to whether these towns functioned as autonomous polities, or whether they were part of lager territorial states.[19]

It is during this time of intense change that the communities of Samnium begin to emerge in the historical record. In ancient historical writing, the Samnites are described as strong opponents of the expanding Roman republic. Between 343 and 290 BC, they were involved in a series of conflicts that

15 See Roselaar (2012b) on joint commercial ventures between Rome and her Italian allies. On consumption and identity see Woolf (1998, 169–205); Pitts (2008).

16 See Dench (1995) for a groundbreaking contribution in this sense.

17 Tagliamonte (1996); Bispham (2007b); Scopacasa (forthcoming).

18 Bispham (2007b).

19 Territorial state: La Regina (1981); Tagliamonte (1996); autonomous polities: Letta (1994); Scopacasa (forthcoming).

are traditionally referred to as the three 'Samnite Wars'.[20] By the early third century Rome had conquered much of Samnium and colonisation was under way, but the Samnites continued to resist during the Pyrrhic war (280–72 BC). By the time of the Hannibalic war, however, rivalry began to be tempered by cooperation, and local elites started to appreciate the benefits of being associated with a rising power. Livy notes that some Samnites were among the few Italians who remained faithful to Rome after the crushing defeat at Cannae (216 BC), whilst the remaining ones defected to Hannibal along with most of Rome's southern Italian allies. But resistance to Rome did not die out, since it was quickly rekindled during the Social War (91–87 BC).

## Integration and Consumption: The Pottery Evidence

After the Hannibalic war, Samnite elites would have found themselves in a position of having to comply with Rome, while also maintaining their sense of independence and self-reliance. It seems significant that it is precisely at this point in time that we begin to see significant changes in the archaeological record of the region. Some of these changes are well known, such as the monumentalization of cult sites, which involved the construction of large temples in the Hellenistic fashion. The most famous example is the temple-theatre complex at Pietrabbondante, but similar structures were erected all across Samnium, for example at Vastogirardi, Schiavi d'Abruzzo, and Campochiaro. These buildings can be seen as assertions of power and unity on the part of communities and elites of Samnium, in a manner that indicated their resourcefulness and familiarity with cosmopolitan architecture of the day.[21]

However, aside from these monumental undertakings, until now little attention has been given to other types of archaeological evidence that are closer to daily life, and can also reveal important aspects of how people in Samnium negotiated their situation in second-century Italy. Pottery vessels are some of the most durable material remains from antiquity. They can inform about social practices and changes across the social spectrum, since all but the very poorest had access to some type of pottery. Also, because it is a basic technology for the consumption of food and drink, pottery is an especially reliable

20 Cornell (2004).

21 Pietrabbondante: La Regina (1976); Tagliamonte (2007); Stek (2009); Vastogirardi: Morel (1984); Campochiaro: Capini (1991); Schiavi d'Abruzzo: La Regina (1976).

indicator of the social and cultural practices that support the negotiation of identity in everyday life.[22]

The ceramic evidence from Samnium shows that traditional eating and drinking habits change considerably in the second century BC. The range of imported beverages and foodstuffs appears to increase dramatically during this period, in comparison with the preceding centuries. For the first time ever, we have clear evidence that imports from outside Italy were arriving in the region in large quantities. A growing number of wine and olive oil amphorae, from different corners of the Mediterranean, points to a broadening of the economic and cultural spheres that were accessible to local communities. The speed at which these changes unfold suggest that their impact on traditional cultural practices was strongly felt.

It is the town of Monte Vairano that offers a detailed picture of these changing patterns of consumption, and of how transformations in Samnium fit within the broader Italian context. Monte Vairano is one of the largest and best-known settlements in Samnium, along with Larino and Benevento. It originated in the early Iron Age, but it is only in the late fourth century BC that we begin to see evidence of monumental building and large-scale economic activity. By that point, Monte Vairano had expanded to the remarkable size of 50 ha, and was enclosed by an imposing wall circuit of large polygonal masonry.[23] The wall featured at least three monumental gateways, and through the southern gateway ran a straight paved road leading into the settlement. The road leads up to a terraced area where a number of stone-built structures have been identified. Some scholars have pointed out that the site fits Livy's description of Aquilonia, which is said to be one of the chief Samnite towns.[24] Although the identification with Aquilonia remains unclear, what we can say is that Monte Vairano was much more than just a hill fort.

There is a large body of evidence for specialised craft production at the site. Loom weights of various shapes and sizes indicate textile production, and tile fragments with Oscan inscriptions (including one with a bilingual inscription in Oscan and Greek) suggest organised manufacturing activity.[25] A pottery kiln was attached to the walls just outside the eastern gateway ('Porta Vittoria').

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22 For recent approaches to pottery and consumption, see Woolf (1998, 169–205); Pitts (2008); see Bourdieu (1977) for a general theoretical framework used in these studies.

23 That these fortifications were built sometime in the fourth century is confirmed by the presence of black gloss skyphoi and lekythoi in the wall foundations, see De Benedittis (1980; 1991a; 1991b).

24 De Benedittis (1980; 1991b).

25 De Benedittis (1980; 1991b).

Judging from the pottery wasters inside it, the kiln was used to produce common wares as well as finer black-gloss cups and bowls. The kiln's location on the outer part of the wall raises important questions about the rationale behind the fortifications at Monte Vairano and similar structures elsewhere. The fact that the outlying territory was safe enough for craft production suggests a level of stability that sits oddly with the view that the walls were primarily defensive in nature.[26] We should not rule out the possibility that in addition to any protective purpose, the walls also functioned as symbolic statements of strength and power which would have been primarily directed at neighbouring (and potentially rival) communities.[27] Further insight into the relationship between Monte Vairano and its hinterland can be gained in view of the agricultural tools found at the site, such as iron hoes, spades, and scythes.[28] Such items suggests that the settlement held some form of centralised control over the agricultural activity in the surrounding lands, since the tools for working the land, and probably also the people who owned or used them, seem to have had Monte Vairano as their base. The added presence of quern stones suggests that produce was being brought into the settlement for storage and processing.

The revenues generated by agricultural and craft production account for the evidence of conspicuous consumption that we see at Monte Vairano. Large numbers of wine and olive oil amphorae, from both the east and west corners of the Mediterranean, indicate vibrant, long-distance exchange links that were probably exploited by a powerful local elite. Adding to this picture are coins from various Hellenistic centres including Pharos, Apollonia, Thasos and the Epirote League, along with more unusual pieces possibly issued in the western Mediterranean, as well as coins from nearby areas, such as the neighbouring town of Larino.[29]

Whilst some of the amphorae at Monte Vairano come from south Italy (such as the Dressel 1A and 1B types), Greek amphorae are by far the most frequent, being four times as numerous as the Dressel 1 types. A total of 40 Greek amphorae have thus far been securely identified, on the basis of stamps on the handles. The vast majority come from Rhodes, and almost certainly

26 De Benedittis (1991b) dates the kiln to the second century but produces no evidence for this and the kiln could well be earlier, since the black-gloss fragments found in it could date from as early as the fourth century.

27 See Bispham et al. (2000) on a similar point regarding the walls at the Samnite fortified settlement of Monte Pallano.

28 De Benedittis (1980; 1991b).

29 De Benedittis 1991a attributes the west Mediterranean coins to Ebusus (Ibiza).

contained wine.[30] The Rhodian amphorae date mainly between the late third and first centuries BC, with the bulk postdating the Hannibalic War. They reflect a period of prosperity among the elites at Monte Vairano, which lasted for the better part of the second century, and this is consistent with evidence of economic growth in much of south Italy during this time.[31] The added presence of east Mediterranean coins suggests that some of the wine may have been imported directly from the Hellenistic east. However, given Monte Vairano's inland position, we cannot rule out the possible mediation of ports along the Adriatic and in Magna Graecia, such as Ancona and Tarentum.[32] The amphorae were found close together in the same part of the settlement, comprising squares D3–4 and E3–4. This may have been a favoured spot for feasting events over several generations, or a rubbish pit where amphorae from across the settlement were discarded.[33]

Greek wine amphorae have been found elsewhere in Samnium, albeit in smaller numbers. Although the number of find spots is likely to increase as a result of ongoing excavation, the extant sample is enough to suggest that Rhodian wine was being consumed in a range of different contexts. At Pietrabbondante, around ten Rhodian amphorae have thus far been recovered, and another two have been found at the nearby sanctuary of Campochiaro. We may infer that Rhodian wine was drunk at religious festivals in these sanctuaries. A different case is that of the Rhodian amphorae found in two graves at the necropolis of Alfedena. Their presence there may indicate either funerary feasts, or a continuation of the funerary symbolism of commensality inherited from the Iron Age.[34] In the coastal area, at least four Rhodian amphorae have been found in the urban centre at Larino, along with another amphora from Cnidus.[35] All of these finds generally date to the third and second centuries BC.

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30 De Benedittis & Bevilacqua (1980a) note that the quantity of Rhodian amphora fragments at Monte Vairano is very high in relation to the excavated area, which is just under 200 square metres.

31 De Benedittis & Bevilacqua (1980a); economic growth in south Italy: Terrenato (2007).

32 De Benedittis (1980; 1991b) tends to favour the hypothesis of a mediation on the part of Larino, although in my view a good case can be made for the autonomy of local elites in exploiting long-distance exchange links.

33 See De Benedittis & Bevilacqua (1980a; 1980b) for figures and a catalogue of stamps.

34 See De Benedittis & Bevilacqua (1980a, 342–3) on Rhodian and Cnidian amphorae in Samnium. On commensality and funerary ritual see Scopacasa (2014).

35 Di Niro (1991).

Rhodian amphorae occur throughout Italy from the third century onwards, from Sicily and Apulia all the way to the Veneto (fig. 2.1).[36] They consistently outnumber amphorae from Cos, Chios, and Cnidus, with which they are often associated. Certain settlements on the Adriatic coast, such as Ancona, stand out for containing more balanced proportions of amphorae from other Hellenistic centres, in addition to Rhodes. Such places are likely to have functioned as trade hubs where wines from different parts of Greece were brought into central Italy and redistributed.[37] What is truly remarkable, however, is that Monte Vairano alone appears to be responsible for around 35% of Rhodian and Cnidian amphorae that have thus far been found in Adriatic Italy between Aquileia and Vasto.[38] Such a high concentration exceeds even that of cities such as Naples, which traditionally had very close ties with the Aegean and east Mediterranean. Even if we make allowances for the incomplete nature of our sample, there seems to have been an especially strong demand for imported Greek wine at Monte Vairano, more so than in many other well-connected Italian towns.

It is true that the distribution of wine amphorae offers only a partial picture. Surely there were other containers for transporting wine, oil and other products, which were made of perishable materials such as wood or animal skins, and left no traces in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the wine amphorae from Rhodes do suggest an important change in consumption habits. We know that wine was being produced in Samnium already in the Iron Age, in view of the *Vitis vinifera* seeds recovered at settlements such as Arcora on the Adriatic coast.[39] It is plausible that, before the second century BC, the local vintages from Samnium were complemented with imports from neighbouring regions of Italy. The presence of Campanian wine jugs in Iron Age cemeteries in Samnium might suggest that Campanian wine was being consumed from an early date. Against this background, the influx of eastern wines after the Hannibalic war represents a considerable broadening of the range of choices, particularly as regards the local elites, who were at the forefront of the new exchange networks.

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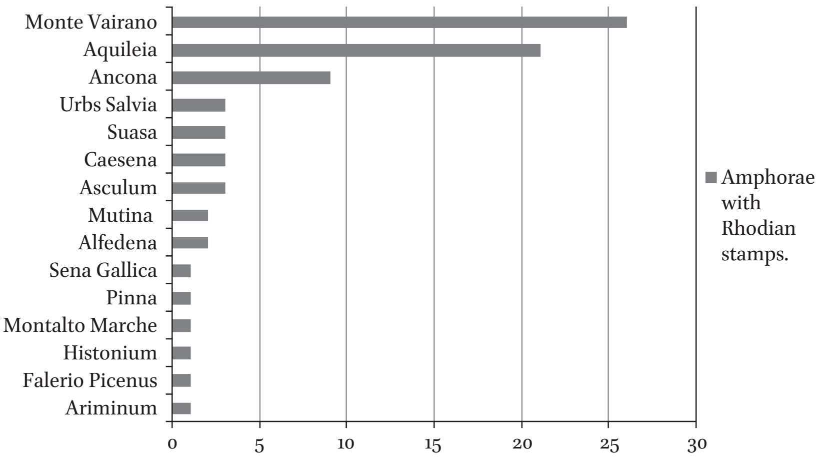
36 Marengo & Paci (2008, 314).

37 See Micheli & Santucci (2010, 31) on Greek wine amphorae at Ancona, which also yielded amphorae from Chios, Cnidus, Cos, and the south Ionian region. The presence of Rhodian amphorae in Samnium adds to our understanding of the distribution of these imports, which were once thought to have been limited to the areas of southern Italy that were under more 'direct' Greek influence.

38 See Marengo & Paci (2008, 320–2).

39 Barker & Suano (1995).




| Site | Number of amphorae with Rhodian stamps |
|---|---|
| Ariminum | 1 |
| Falerio Picenus | 1 |
| Histonium | 1 |
| Montalto Marche | 1 |
| Pinna | 1 |
| Sena Gallica | 1 |
| Alfedena | 2 |
| Mutina | 2 |
| Asculum | 3 |
| Caesena | 3 |
| Suasa | 3 |
| Urbs Salvia | 3 |
| Ancona | 9 |
| Aquileia | 21 |
| Monte Vairano | 26 |

FIGURE 2.1 *Incidence of Rhodian Amphorae in Adriatic Italy, Second Century* BC.
*SOURCE OF DATA: MARENGO & PACI 2008.*

It seems clear that the spread of Rhodian and other Greek wines into Italy is linked with the rise of Roman hegemony in the east Mediterranean.[40] Following the defeat of the Macedonian forces at Pydna in 168 BC, Rome's presence in the Greek world reached a whole new level. The settlement after the war involved the creation of the free port at Delos in 166 BC, which went on to house a thriving community of Roman and Italian merchants.[41] The Italian elites were quick to take advantage of the business opportunities that they, as allies, had helped Rome to seize in the Hellenistic world.[42]

As far as we can tell, the community at Monte Vairano was involved in the Mediterranean trade networks. Such networks became more accessible to Romans and Italians as a result of Roman hegemony in the East. It is not inconceivable that individuals from Monte Vairano may have been connected with emporia such as Delos, where Italian and Roman merchants operated together. This much is suggested by the coins from various Hellenistic centres that were found at Monte Vairano, which, as noted earlier in this paper, are contemporaneous with the Rhodian amphorae. These include coins with the legend 'Apollonia', which could refer to the Apollonia on the north African coast, where a massive number of Rhodian amphorae have been found.

To what extent does the pottery evidence allow us to trace similar changes outside the elite levels of society? The spread of new wares from the late fifth century BC onwards affords glimpses of changing styles of consumption across a broader social transect. During the Iron Age (*c.* 1000–400 BC) the pottery from Samnium consists almost entirely of locally-made coarse wares known as *impasto*, with a smaller percentage of imported Campanian *bucchero*. The best example of a locally-made fine ware is the matt-painted pottery found in coastal areas near the Adriatic. This local fine ware is styled on the geometric pottery from neighbouring Daunia.[43] Beginning in the late fifth century BC, however, we see signs of a growing taste for new fine wares that were emerging in the Mediterranean scene. Black gloss vessels first appear in some of the fifth century burials at Montesarchio, Sant'Agata dei Goti, and further inland at

40 See De Benedittis &Bevilacqua (1980a, 343) for an initial suggestion along these lines.

41 La Regina (1976). In a thought-provoking reappraisal of Roman involvement in the Greek East, Eckstein (2012) argues that Rome's policy became consistently imperialist only after the first decades of the second century.

42 A good example of how Samnite allies played an important role in the Roman conquest of Greece is Livy's reference (44.40) to Samnite contingents in the Roman army during the Macedonian wars.

43 Di Niro (1991).

Alfedena. They were most likely imported from Campania, where black gloss wares began to be manufactured in large numbers.[44]

By the late fourth century, the demand for black gloss in Samnium had grown to such an extent that it was being consumed in virtually all of the known sites, and was also being produced locally. We have secure evidence of local manufacture of black gloss at Monte Vairano, Monte Pallano, and Benevento. It was almost certainly produced also at Larino and the wealthy towns in the Caudine area, although published evidence is currently lacking. It is true that *impasto* continues after the fourth century, but whether or not local styles ended is a more complicated matter. On the one hand, it is significant that communities went from using local types of impasto to more 'globalised' black gloss, which was Mediterranean-wide. However, pottery specialists in the Sangro survey team have begun to identify local types of black gloss around the site of Monte Pallano, but this material remains to be catalogued and published. We are not in a position to rule out the possibility that black gloss was being made locally by the late fourth century, especially in the upper Sangro and Volturno areas as well as Beneventum, where the proximity with Campania may have facilitated access to black-gloss production technology.

| | **Olla** | **Amphora** | **Crater** | **Jug** | **Bowl** | **Cup** | **Other drinking vessels**[39] | **Patera** | **Mortar** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black gloss | 5 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 51 | 12 | 8 | 1 |
| Common/ coarse ware | 22 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 12 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

FIGURE 2.2 *Incidence of black gloss and common/coarse wares in Samnium, third-second centuries* BC.[45]

44 Parise Badoni & Ruggieri Giove (1981), graves 19, 24, 26–9, 31, 33, 38, 52, 130, 132. Grave 98 contains a black gloss *skyphos*, and grave 61 a black gloss wine jug and *kylix*.

45 The sites included in this sample are: Gildone, Alfedena, Larino-Carpineto, Guglionesi, Termoli-Porticone, Campochiaro (funerary); Pietrabbondante, Campochiaro, Schiavi d'Abruzzo, San Buono, San Giovanni in Galdo, Gildone (sanctuaries); Larino, Monte Vairano, Fonte del Romito (settlements).

Our understanding of the local types of black gloss in Samnium is still in its early stages. Yet it seems clear that the black gloss vessels in the region span a particular range of forms. They are mostly table wares designed for individual rather than collective use, such as small bowls, cups, *kylikes*, and other small drinking vessels (*kantharoi, skyphoi*, beakers). The data in Figure 2.2 refers to sites where the material has been systematically excavated and published, mostly cemeteries but also a few settlements and sanctuaries used between the fourth and early first centuries BC. Although the sample is limited, it does reveal an overall pattern whereby common and coarse wares correlate with large containers and cooking pots (*ollae*), whereas the black gloss vessels are mainly fit for individual consumption (cups and other small drinking vessels). This emphasis on specialised forms for individual use continues into the first century BC, with the spread of Italian *sigillata* wares. The distribution of Italian *sigillata* wares in Samnium is still being charted, but they are certainly present in large numbers at Monte Pallano and to a lesser degree at Fonte del Romito.[46]

Compared with the traditional repertory of Iron Age pottery, both the black gloss and *sigillata* wares indicate the adoption of new styles of food preparation and consumption. They suggest an emphasis on individual table places, which contrasts with the large containers such as the *impasto* and common-ware *ollae*, which would have functioned in a more communal setting where people helped themselves out of the same pot. The fact that black gloss pottery is not limited to elite contexts suggests that these new styles of consumption were being taken up across the social spectrum. Black-gloss vessels can be found at the opposite ends of the socio-economic scale—from some of the most lavish cremations at the affluent town of Larino (such as grave 23 at Carpineto), to the modest inhumations of the small community of agricultural labourers at Gildone, where small black gloss bowls occur in practically every grave.[47] The presence of these vessels in funerary contexts might suggest that they were being put to uses other than the consumption of food and drink. Yet the mortuary record is consistent with what we see in settlement and sanctuary sites. These contexts also show that black gloss was present in a range of socio-economic settings, from the monumental sanctuary at Pietrabbondante to the modest rural shrine at Gildone, and from the sophisticated urban centre at Larino, to the village at San Giovanni in Galdo.[48]

46 Monte Pallano: Kane (2008); Fonte del Romito: Rainini (1996).

47 Gildone: Di Niro (1989); Macchiarola (1989). Larino-Carpineto: Tagliamonte (1996, 208–9).

48 Larino: Di Niro (1980; 1991); San Giovanni in Galdo: Stek (2009).

## Conclusion

Archaeological evidence can shed important light on how the different groups in Italian society responded to the socio-political changes that came about as Roman hegemony consolidated in the peninsula. On one level, the spread of new and more "global" wares such as black gloss signals the adoption of new forms and styles of consumption across the social spectrum. Future work on typology and chronology will help refine our understanding of how the new patterns of Mediterranean connectivity led to the integration of Italy in global networks.[49]

Because of the nature of the available evidence, we can form a more detailed picture of developments in regard to the elite levels of society. By importing Rhodian and Cnidian wine, the Samnite elites at Monte Vairano were not only integrating themselves in new exchange networks. They were also demonstrating that they were discriminating consumers, who were familiar with the parameters of 'good taste' that defined the rising imperialist elites on a Mediterranean level. The preference for wines from particular places such as Rhodes and Cnidus suggests not only a demand for quality, but also some knowledge of the various different vintages that were available. In addition, the ability of local aristocrats to acquire Rhodian wine may have functioned as a new form of social differentiation on a local level. Given that Rhodian amphorae are conspicuous throughout Italy, the developments that we see at Monte Vairano are far from being an isolated phenomenon.[50] Samnite elites were becoming increasingly aware of the need to consume in accordance with their new social and political standing, regarding themselves as partners rather than subjects of Rome—at least until the last decades of the second century BC, when hostilities over resources and political rights in Italy led to a breakdown in the alliance network. The elites at Monte Vairano used their trade connections to negotiate actively their position in the context of Roman dominance. They were carefully cultivating new styles of consumption, so as to advertise their resourcefulness and cultural credentials, by procuring, consuming, and redistributing imported Greek wine.

To whom was all this self-assertion directed? It is likely that the intended audiences included other Italian elites with whom the Samnite aristocracies at Monte Vairano maintained guest-friendship relations. Fronda has recently put together some valuable evidence for guest-friendship relations between

49 See Pitts (2008) and Pitts & Versluys (2014) for the usefulness of globalisation theory in regard to the Roman empire.

50 See Marengo & Paci (2008) for a recent assessment of find spots in Adriatic Italy.

Romans and individuals from central and south Italy.[51] One example concerns the brother of Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who was four times consul between 322 and 297. Fabius' brother was educated in Caere at the home of guest-friends, which made him fluent in Etruscan. Likewise, Livy informs us that Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*cos*. 215, 213) was the guest-friend of a Lucanian nobleman called Flavus. A similar relationship linked T. Manlius Torquatus (*cos*. 235, 224) and a C. Staiodius, an aristocrat of the Marsi in central Italy. This can be inferred from a bronze *tessera hospitalis* where both men's names are inscribed along with the Latin word *hospes*.[52] Although none of these attested cases involve individuals from Samnium, it is not implausible to suggest that they too participated in such networks. In the end, we cannot be sure whether any Romans actually went to Monte Vairano. However, the archaeological evidence reveals the competitive attitude with which this allied community asserted itself despite (or perhaps in response to) their political limitations in regard to Rome—an attitude which escalated to open defiance by the early first century BC.

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51 Fronda (2010, 305, 340–1).

52 CIL $I^2$ 1764. See Fronda (2010, 305, 340) for a discussion of individual cases.

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CHAPTER 3

# Minting Apart Together: Bronze Coinage Production in Campania and Beyond in the Third Century BC

*Marleen K. Termeer*

## Introduction

The Rome that conquered Veii, fought the first Samnite War, and entered into the first two treaties with Carthage, did not have its own coined money. Only from the late fourth century onwards did Roman coinage production start, and the volume of production was rather low for the first 50 years.[1] In the same period the monetary landscape of Italy changed considerably. The production of many Greek cities in the South ceased, while new mints appeared in Central Italy and on the Adriatic coast.[2] In addition, large parts of Italy were now for the first time included in patterns of coin circulation, indicating the introduction of coined money. In regions with a longer history of money use, such as Campania, shifts occurred in the patterns of distribution and the provenance of the coins used.[3]

These changes must—at least in part—be related to the effects of Roman expansion, both at the level of production and at the level of distribution and consumption.[4] Roman expansion intensified and changed connectivity on the Italian peninsula, affecting patterns of production and exchange. The appear-

* I should like to thank Michael Crawford and Jelle Prins for commenting on a previous draft of this paper.

1 Crawford (1974) remains fundamental. All dates are BC. I will refer to specific coin issues by their catalogue number in *Historia Numorum Italy* (Rutter et al. (2001)), abbreviated as HNItaly [number]. For Roman issues, I will also refer to their catalogue number in *Roman Republican Coinage* (Crawford (1974)) by RRC [number]. In some cases, additional information is derived from *Imagines Italicae* (Crawford et al. (2011)); references will be made to II [entry title]. A convenient concordance list between *Historia Numorum Italy* and *Imagines Italicae* is provided by Burnett (2013, 441–2).

2 For an overview, see Rutter et al. (2001, 8–12).

3 See Crawford (1985, 37–8); Stazio (1991).

4 See e.g. Rutter et al. (2001, 8) on possible explanations for the disappearance of large part of the Greek coinages in the South, where Roman interference cannot have been the only relevant factor.

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ance of new mints and the production of existing mints in the third century can often be related to Roman military activity.[5] However, we cannot explain all new developments in coinage production in this period exclusively in reference to Rome. As Roman coinage production itself was a relatively recent phenomenon in the third century, developing itself in a process of trial and error influenced by local and foreign earlier traditions, it is unlikely that it would have served as an example for other mints active in this period.

This means that much of the monetary landscape of third century Italy was shaped by local actors: those in charge of coinage production at various mints and in various communities. The coinages they produced, therefore, are an important source to study processes of interaction and integration in the context of Roman expansion, but not directed or shaped by Rome. In this paper, a specific case study serves to explore the potential of this material when viewed from such an 'integration perspective'. I will focus on the bronze production of Neapolis, Cales, Teanum Sidicinum, Suessa Aurunca, Caiatia, Aquinum, Aesernia, Compulteria, Nola, and Larinum (see table 1).[6] Coinages bearing the names of these communities (whether they were also produced by local mints remains to be investigated) were produced roughly in the first half of the third century. There is overlap in the use of types, but some communities also have coinages with their own, local types. The group is relatively well-known; several recent articles have added detailed information about weights and distribution, and have contributed to the discussion on the chronology of the various issues.[7] The communities involved include

5 The coincidence is noted widely, e.g. Crawford (1985, 1, ch. 3); Howgego (1995, 11); Harl (1996, 34–5); Cantilena (2001, 47). An important example of Roman impact on the circulation of coined money, not necessarily of Roman production, is the case of Minturnae (citizen colony of 295): the coin finds from the river Garigliano include very few coins datable before the foundation of the colony, as noted by Giove (1998, 131); Vitale (2001, 110). See Houghtalin (1985, 69) on the residual coins. While the large majority of the coins found here is Roman, many non-Roman coins were found as well: Bellini et al. (1998).

6 Cantilena (1988, 154) also lists Venafrum and Telesia as producers of the types with Minerva/cock and Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by Victory (Venafrum) or only Minerva/cock (Telesia). The attribution of these coins to these towns has been called into question: on Venafrum, see HNItaly 2660 and 2661 and II Campania Coinage 3; on Telesia see II Campania Coinage 4. I therefore leave these towns out of the analysis. It has been proposed that the legends of these coins should be read as personal names; while this opens up new lines of interpretation for the group as a whole, I regard the suggestion as too hypothetical to be included in the analysis (for some remarks and references, see note 36).

7 Most contributions focus on the production of one particular community: Cantilena (2000a) on Teanum; Pantuliano (2005) on Cales; Vitale (2009) on Suessa. Lippi (2005) focuses on the Minerva/cock group. More general contributions are Cantilena (1988; 2000b); Stazio (1991).

both Latin colonies and Italian allies of Rome, which, as we will see, acted in very similar ways.[8]

In this paper, these coinages serve to examine interaction and integration in a cultural sense, which includes, but is not restricted to, economic interaction and integration. Such a cultural perspective is in line with sociological and anthropological approaches to money, which stress that money is always culturally embedded, and can be both cause and effect of cultural and social change.[9] It is important to keep in mind that coinage, as a special kind of money, is particularly capable of creating relations between individuals and communities: it is produced by an institution that vouches for its value, but at the same time this value is created and maintained through its use by individuals.[10] Coin types and legends could be used as an intentional representation of (part of) the community, and may therefore inform us about the producers' attempts to communicate messages and create a public identity for the producing community.[11] This 'communicative' quality of coinage is enhanced by its ability to travel and reach a wide public. This also means that the impact of the coinages under study depends on patterns of distribution, and the way in which these coinages were used and perceived.

In brief, I use the coinages listed in table 3.1 to examine processes of interaction and integration between local communities in the context of Roman expansion in the third century BC. If these coinages are to tell us something about interaction and integration, it is important to be as clear as possible on the context of production and the actors that were involved. In the next section, therefore, I will first examine the coinages themselves and their chronology, distribution and function. These findings will serve as the basis for an analysis of interaction and integration at the level of production. In addition, after briefly looking at patterns of distribution, I will offer some thoughts on the integrative role of these coinages at the level of consumption.

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8 In chapter 4 of my PhD thesis (University of Groningen), I examine coinage production by the colonies in more detail, discussing the implications for their role in cultural change in Italy.

9 See e.g. Baker & Jimerson (1992, esp. 680); Maurer (2006, esp. 27).

10 Hart (2005, 169–171).

11 See e.g. the various contributions in Caccamo Caltabiano, Castrizio & Pugliese (2004); in particular Cantilena, Cerchiai & Pontrandolfo Greco (2004, 131): 'Il tipo monetale è senza dubbio l'espressione più evidente del processo di significazione teso a connotare la comunità emittente e l'immagine di sé che essa intende promuovere nel momento in cui immetta in circolazione la propria moneta.' On public identities, see the various contributions in Howgego, Heuchert & Burnett (2005).

### Chronology, Function and Producers

The coinages listed in table 3.1 are an interesting case study because they present us with a range of similarities and differences that point at various dynamics of interaction. There are four groups of coins which use the same combination of types on the obverse and the reverse, while they are issued by different communities (see table 3.1: the first four rows). The combination of types that was used most regularly is Apollo/man-faced bull: the combination is typical of Naples in this region, and there is no question that other mints copied it.[12] Additional attributes on the reverse help to differentiate between three groups that use these types: the man-faced bull is respectively combined with star, lyre, and crowning Victory. The fourth group, characterized by the head of Athena/Minerva[13] on the obverse, and a cock with a star on the reverse, uses a previously unknown combination of types.[14]

Importantly, these four groups display internal diversity as well, which is an indication that different decisions were made by the communities responsible for production: the language (and text) of the legend differs, as does the use of additional symbols and letters on obverse and reverse. In addition, there is variety in the total output of each community. At Neapolis, Teanum, Suessa, Aesernia, and Larinum, the bronze issues with common types were supplemented by other issues with local types (see table 1: the lower two rows). The communities of Neapolis, Cales, Teanum, Suessa, and Nola also produced silver alongside these bronze issues. In order to study interaction between these

12 The earliest Neapolitan didrachms (HNItaly 545, 546) already have the man-faced bull, often identified as Acheloos: see Rutter et al. (2001, 68). Other mints in- and outside Campania also copied the general type (without lyre, star or flying Victory), e.g. Irnthíi (HNItaly 543) and Teanum Apulum (HNItaly 698) (the identification of Maleventum as a mint (HNItaly 438) is discarded in II Campania Coinage 2). The first Roman bronze (HNItaly 251 / RRC 1.1) copies the variant which only depicts the forepart of a man-faced bull on the reverse, while the second (HNItaly 252 / RRC 2.1) combines the reverse type man-faced bull with the head of Minerva on the obverse (the combination was used earlier on the silver of a number of Campanian mints, such as that of the Campani (HNItaly 477, 478), Hyrietes (HNItaly 539), Allifae (HNItaly 459) and Nola (HNItaly 603, 604)).

13 In view of the mixed cultural backgrounds of the communities under study, it is often hard to assess whether the depicted deities would have been known under their Greek or Latin (or Oscan) name. For brevity's sake, I will refer to deities from this point on with their Latin names.

14 The head of Minerva is very common; the cock was used earlier as a coin type on the silver of Neapolis (HNItaly 581) and Metapontum (HNItaly 1613). We also find it on the cast bronze of Hatria (HNItaly 15) and Luceria (HNItaly 669).

TABLE 3.1 *Overview of the bronze coinages discussed. Based on Cantilena (1988, 154), with additional information taken from* HNItaly *and* Imagines Italicae. *Compared to the table offered by Cantilena, Venafrum (HNItaly 2661) and Telesia (HNItaly 457) are no longer identified as producing communities; see note 6. Greek and Latin are rendered in their own alphabets, in capitals; Oscan is rendered in the Latin alphabet, in lower case, following the transcriptions used in* Imagines Italicae.

| Types | Neapolis | Cales | Teanum | Suessa |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Head of Apollo** | Symbols | | | |
| **Man-faced bull, star** | Letters | Symbols, letters | | |
| Legend language | Greek | Latin | Oscan | |
| Obverse | ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ | CALENO | tianud | |
| Reverse | | CALENO | sidikinud | |
| | *HNItaly 582* | *HNItaly 436* | *HNItaly 454* | |
| **Head of Apollo** | Letters | Symbols | Letters | |
| **Man-faced bull, lyre** | Monograms, ΙΣ | Symbols, letters, ΙΣ | Symbols, letters | |
| Legend language | Greek | Latin | Oscan | |
| Obverse | ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ | CALENO | tianud | |
| Reverse | | CALENO | sidikinud | |
| | *HNItaly 582* | *HNItaly 436* | *HNItaly 454* | |
| **Head of Minerva** | | | Symbols | Symbols |
| **Cock, star** | | Symbols, letters | | |
| Legend language | | Latin | Latin | Latin |
| Obverse | | CALENO | | SVESANO |
| Reverse | | CALENO | TIANO | |
| | | *HNItaly 435* | *HNItaly 453* | *HNItaly 449* |
| **Head of Apollo** | Letters | Symbols | Symbols, letters | Symbols |
| **Man-faced bull,** | Monograms, ΙΣ | Letters | Symbols, letters | Letters, ΙΣ |
| **crowned by Victory** | | | | |
| Legend language | Greek | Latin | Oscan | Latin |
| Obverse | ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ or | CALENO | tianud or | |
| Reverse | ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ | CALENO | tianud | SVESANO |
| | *HNItaly 589 & 590* | | *HNItaly 455* | *HNItaly 450* |

| **Caiatia** | **Aquinum** | **Aesernia** | **Compulteria** | **Nola** | **Larinum** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Latin<br>CAIATINO<br>*HNItaly 433* | Latin<br>AQVINO<br>*HNItaly 432* | | | | |
| | | Symbols<br>Letters, ΙΣ<br>Latin<br>AISERNINO<br>AISERNINOM<br>*HNItaly 431* | Symbols, letters<br>ΙΣ<br>Oscan<br>kupelternum<br>kupelternum<br>*HNItaly 437* | Letters<br>Letters<br>Greek<br>ΝΩΛΑΙ<br>*HNItaly 607* | Greek<br>ΛΑΡΙΝΩΝ<br>*HNItaly 622* |

| Types | Neapolis | Cales | Teanum | Suessa |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Local types** | V | | V | V |
| Obverse type | (several types) | | Head of Mercury | Head of Mercury |
| Reverse type | | | Man-faced bull, star | Hercules strangling lion |
| Legend language | | | Oscan | Latin |
| Obverse | | | tianud | PROBOM |
| Reverse | | | sidikinud | SVESANO |
| | | | *HNItaly 456* | *HNItaly 448* |
| Obverse type | | | | |
| Reverse type | | | | |
| Legend language | | | | |
| Obverse | | | | |
| Reverse | | | | |

communities, it is important to establish the chronological sequence of the various coinages listed in table 3.1.

The oldest group comprises the coins with Apollo/man-faced bull with star or lyre. The Neapolitan bronzes in this group have been classified by Taliercio in her phase II of the bronze coinage of Naples, dated between 317/310 and 270.[15] The groups with Minerva/cock and Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by Victory are later, while the local issues can be inserted at different points in the chronology.[16] Both the Minerva/cock bronzes and the local types of Aesernia, Suessa, and Teanum predate the types with Apollo/Man-faced bull crowned by flying Victory (or possibly overlap with it, if we allow for production of the Victory type over a longer period in time).[17] This observation is mainly based on various overstrikes and hoard evidence. Particularly indicative are

15 Taliercio (1986, 227–38).

16 For this general observation: see the dates given in Rutter et al. (2001), and the sequence of Neapolitan bronzes as constructed by Taliercio (1986); in particular pp. 238–45 for the type with man-faced bull crowned by flying Victory. More detailed analysis below.

17 See Vitale (2009, 66) on Suessa; Cantilena (2000a, 256–7) on Teanum. See also Luppino, Parise & Polosa (1996).

| Caiatia | Aquinum | Aesernia | Compulteria | Nola | Larinum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | V<br>Head of Minerva<br>Eagle grasping snake<br>Latin<br>AISERNIO<br>*HNItaly 429* | | | V<br>Head of Minerva<br>Horse galloping<br>Oscan<br>(in Latin alphabet)<br>LADINEI<br>*HNItaly 623* |
| | | Head of Vulcan<br>Jupiter in biga<br>Latin<br>VOLCANOM<br>AISERNINO<br>*HNItaly 430* | | | Head of Minerva<br>Thunderbolt<br>Oscan<br>(in Latin alphabet)<br>LADINOD<br>*HNItaly 624* |

several overstrikes found in the Pietrabbondante hoard (IGCH 1986) and in Campochiaro. In Campochiaro, a Victory bronze of Neapolis is overstruck on a Minerva/cock coin of Suessa, while in Pietrabbondante overstrikes of the Victory type have been found (amongst others) on a bronze coin of Cales with man-faced bull and star, on a Minerva/cock bronze of Teanum, and on local issues of Aesernia.[18] These last overstrikes help to establish an absolute chronology, as the colony was founded only in 263: the local issue, and by implication the Victory bronze, must be later. It is likely, therefore, that both the Minerva/cock and the Apollo/man-faced bull with Victory bronzes date to the period of the First Punic War.[19] Especially for the Victory bronzes, this is

18 For Campochiaro: Vitale (2009, 63 n. 83). For Pietrabbondante: Sambon (1903, 268); on the Aesernia undertypes: Burnett (1977, 111 n. 65) (he only specifies the Vulcanus/Jupiter in *biga* (Sambon 1903, nrs. 184ff. = HNItaly 430)); on the Cales and Teanum undertypes: Cantilena (2000a, 257).

19 As suggested by Crawford (1985, 47–8). For the Minerva/cock bronzes, Cantilena (1988, 161–4) also makes the connection to the First Punic War, while Vitale (2009, 66) suggests a date just before the war.

confirmed by their sheer quantity and indications of hasty production (many overstrikes with clearly recognizable undertypes).[20]

The resulting chronology for the groups with common types—reflected in table 3.1—is 1) Apollo/man-faced bull with lyre or star (before 270); 2) Minerva/cock (early years of the First Punic War or just before); 3) Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by flying Victory (First Punic War). The local types can be inserted in this chronology at different points. The local type of Teanum, which uses the man-faced bull with star as its reverse type, is probably contemporary to the group with Apollo/man-faced bull with star or lyre.[21] The issues of Aesernia must be later, as the colony was only founded in 263: these show that local types may also have been produced in the context of the First Punic War. The local type of Suessa seems to date closer to the Aesernian issues than to that of Teanum, and should therefore be dated to the early years of the First Punic War, or just before.[22] The date of the local types of Larinum is harder to establish, as they do not circulate as much in the same area as the other types under study here. The date given in *HNItaly* of 250–225 appears to be based on impressions of the fabric of the coins; if we allow similarity in weight to be a chronological indicator, however, an earlier date during the First Punic War would be preferable.[23]

Interestingly, these chronological groups are to a certain extent also characterized by the use of the same weights.[24] The early types (Apollo/man-faced bull without Victory and the local type of Teanum) revolve around 6 g,[25] while

20 Crawford (1985, 47–8); Cantilena (1988, 161–4); Stazio (1991, 243).

21 Cantilena (2000a, 256).

22 Vitale (2009, 66) draws attention to the differences between the production of Suessa and Teanum (and Cales), while stressing the parallels between the local type of Suessa and those of Aesernia both in terms of weight and common appearance in the Casalvieri votive deposit. Her suggested date range of 275/270–265/260 for the Suessan issue therefore seems rather early, though not impossible. The suggested link to the *aes grave* of 300 g is purely hypothetical (for the idea, see also Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 103)), and can therefore not be accepted as an argument for the date of the Suessan issue. On the chronology of the Aesernian issues, see also Campana (1992–6, 290).

23 See note 26 below; D'Andrea, Andreani & Bozza (2008, 57–8) indeed give a date of 268–250 for these issues.

24 General observations in Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 100–10); Lippi (2005) on the Minerva/cock type; Pantuliano (2005) on Cales; Vitale (2009) on Suessa. Note, however, that the differences in weight are relatively small, and variations do occur, sometimes within the same typological groups. See Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 102); Vitale (2009, 61–2) on differences in weight within the Minerva/cock group.

25 See Cantilena (2000a, 254).

the later local types of Suessa and Aesernia are heavier (ca 7 g).[26] The weights of the Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by Victory coins are lowest, between 5 and 6 g, although there are heavier exceptions (notably Nola and the coins of Suessa with IΣ as countermark).[27] Most of the issues with Minerva/cock cluster around a weight of 6.7 g, but in the case of Cales and Aquinum, there is a second group with lower weights (between 5.5 and 6 g), while the weights of the coins of Suessa are even more varied.[28] These differences are significant because they may indicate that production took place at different moments over time.

Moving on to the probable function of these coinages, it is important to consider the broader context of production and distribution. In this light, it is interesting that the weights of both the Minerva/cock types and the Victory types can be related to the third phase of the Neapolitan bronzes and the Roman issue HNItaly 278 / RRC 17.[29] This connection seems to be confirmed

26 Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 101–2); Vitale (2009, 60). In terms of weight, the local types of Larinum would fit in this group as well: Larinum, D'Andrea, Andreani & Bozza (2008) give a weight of ca. 7 g for HNItaly 623 (p. 47) and a weight of ca. 6,8 g for HNItaly 624 (p. 48), clearly heavier than Larinum's Apollo/man-faced bull with Victory issue (ca. 6,2 g (p. 46)); see also Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 102). This might point to an earlier date of these local issues than the date of 250–225 given in Rutter et al. (2001). Note, also, that HNItaly 623 of Larinum copies the prancing horse with star of the second Roman didrachm (HNItaly 275 / RRC 15), just like a local issue of Beneventum (HNItaly 440), which is dated in the period of the First Punic War as well.

27 Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 100–1), noting that only Nola does not follow the same standard, and that Suessa lowers the weight after the first series; see also Vitale (2009, 63–4).

28 See Lippi (2005). According to Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 101) and Vitale (2009, 61), Teanum also has lower weights. However, the weights given by Lippi (2005, 111) for Teanum fit the general picture of the group. The attempt by Lippi (2005, 114–15) to explain the various weights of Suessa as the result of the presence of three series, two of which on a lower weight standard, is not accepted by Vitale (2009, 62–3).

29 This is stated most clearly by Vitale (2009, 66–7). Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 92 and 106) draws attention to the fact that for Naples, this was a new standard, possibly following a Roman example (the argument is that Naples raised the standard in comparison to the previous, second series of bronze, in contrast to the normal process of weight reduction). However, we should note that the standard seems to have been new, and possibly higher in comparison to the previous issues of bronze, for Rome as well: as noted by Taliercio as well, the weight of RRC 17 (average given by Crawford: 5.17 g; Taliercio mentions that weights cluster around 5–5.5 g) is more than half of RRC 16 (average given by Crawford: 9.57 g). More generally, these small differences in weight may not have been terribly significant for users, or even producers, of these coinages.

by the distribution of these types.[30] The Minerva/cock and Victory bronzes of Cales and Suessa circulated together with the third phase Neapolitan bronzes and the Roman emissions. In contrast, the heavier local type of Suessa has a different distribution pattern: it is mainly found in Latin and Samnite territories, while the shared types are found further into Samnium and towards the south.

At least in the case of Suessa, therefore, the coinages with common types are more widely used than the local type. In view of the chronology established above, a probable explanation for this is a growth in interaction between people from various backgrounds in the Roman army in the First Punic War. Indeed, the concentration of production of coinages in the period of the First Punic War fits nicely in the more general picture of coinage production in third century Italy, which was often related to military activity, either for the pay of *stipendium* or for the distribution of booty.[31] Allies and colonies of Rome had to arrange such practicalities for their own troops, and this explains why coinage production boomed.[32] It is perhaps no coincidence that some bronzes of Cales and Suessa were found on Sicily, where either their troops or others who acquired these coins would have served.[33]

This takes us to the final questions about these coinages: why were coins with common types produced, and who was responsible for their production? As there are few external clues about the institutional organization of coinage production in this period, the coins themselves are our best source for answering these questions. From a practical point of view, the explanation for the use of common types cannot simply be the use of the same dies at the same mint: the differences between the various issues are an argument against this, and no die-links are known.[34] There are various indications that each of the coinages was commissioned separately: the varying legends in Greek, Oscan,

30 Taliercio Mensitieri (1998, 103); Vitale (2009, 67).

31 E.g. Crawford (1985, 36–7); Stazio (1991, 243); Cantilena (1996, 62); recently DeRose Evans (2013, 114–15). Specifically for the interpretation of the Minerva/cock group in a military context: Rutter et al. (2001, 9).

32 Plb. 6.21.5 with Crawford (1985, 36–7).

33 See Pantuliano (2005, 367, tav. III) on the distribution of coins from Cales, and Vitale (2009, 69–87) on Suessa. Coins of Cales are known from Selinunte, the Polizzi Generosa hoard (IGCH 2229) and from the Vulcano hoard (IGCH 2210); a coin from Suessa from Montagna dei Cavalli. See additional find spots (but none in Sicily) and further analysis in chapter 4 of my PhD thesis.

34 This situation is therefore different from earlier Campanian production (in silver), for which Rutter has identified various die-links and hence suggests a central mint at Naples (Rutter 1979, 68–76; 81–6).

or Latin; the different weights; the variation in use of letters and symbols; and the fact that some communities produced local coinages with different types. However, it is not necessary either to imagine a local mint at each of the producing communities; it is quite possible that various coinages were produced by one or more central or travelling mints.[35] The most likely hypothesis, in my view, is that (military) officials from different communities were responsible for production, and could order coinages to be produced either at a local mint or at a central/travelling mint.[36]

So what, then, is the logic behind the use of common types? It has been widely suggested that the participating communities were part of a monetary league created to ease exchange,[37] but the exact workings of such a league remain obscure, and the hypothesis is not confirmed by the distribution of coins discussed above. An alternative is that these coins functioned as a common military contribution of the producing mints.[38] I agree that the military context is important, but I do not think it fully explains the use of common types on its own. One additional explanation is convenience: especially in the context of the First Punic War, repeating the same types may just have been the easiest solution, as no new types needed to be developed. Recognisability must have been important as well, especially in a military context which saw the mixing of many types of coinages. The common type would help users to recognize these coins as acceptable, even if the weight was not always the same. The differences in distribution between the local type of Suessa and the com-

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35 See Marchetti (1993, 62) more generally on this possibility. The practical circumstances of minting otherwise receive little attention.

36 The connection with a specific community may not always have been made: Crawford et al. (2011) identify one issue with Apollo/man-faced bull (no Victory) (II Campania Coinage 2) and two issues with Minerva/cock (II Campania Coinage 3 and 4) with legends that seem to be personal names. For the Minerva/cock bronzes, this would mean that all issues with a Latin legend give the name of the community, while the legends in Oscan give a personal name. Burnett (2013, 440, 444–5) points out the lack of parallels for the use of personal names on coinage of this period, and the difficulty of having the same type related to a community in some cases and to an individual in others. Perhaps, again, to understand this variety we should look at the military context of production, where both communities and individuals may have needed coinage for their troops.

37 The idea of a monetary league is especially popular for the Minerva/cock type; e.g. Thomsen (1961, 111); Cantilena (1988, 164); Stazio (1991, 243). A potential problem with this interpretation are the differences in weight that occur within the same group, although the significance of such differences in daily use is not well understood (see note 29). Cantilena (1988, 160) also mentions the older hypothesis that the group formed a political union against Rome.

38 Lippi (2005, 116).

mon types are relevant in this respect: the common types were used in a larger area, beyond the direct regional environment of the producing communities.

Finally, these observations have implications for the relation between these coinages and the communities whose names we find on the coins. Coins are often seen as 'the most deliberate of all symbols of public communal identities'.[39] Coinage is indeed uniquely able to communicate messages that the producers wanted to convey to a broad outside world. The question, however, is whether this potential was actively used. It is difficult to read the common types as related to the 'civic identities' of the producing communities. It is true that their names are on these coins, and there does seem to be a relationship between coinage production and political autonomy or sovereignty in the period under study.[40] However, the explanation for this should be sought in the context in which the coinages were produced. All these communities contributed to the Roman war effort, taking care of their own contingents of soldiers, and we should understand the decisions made regarding coinage production in this context.

## Local Production and Integration

Coinage production, as may be clear by now, was shaped by local decisions, and resulting developments of interaction and integration are hard to capture in a single, linear model. It is, however, possible to trace how individual communities interacted, as all the coins studied here mention the issuing authority (not necessarily the mint, as we have just seen) in the legend. The analysis in this section will focus primarily on the interaction that lies behind the production choices made. In addition, we will consider the perception by and possible impact on consumers.

39 The quote, by Millar (1993, 230), was recently used in the blurb of an important book on *Coinage and Identity in the Roman provinces* (Howgego, Heuchert & Burnett 2005).

40 The traditional assumption of a connection between sovereignty and the production of coinage was problematized for the classical Greek world by Martin (1985). However, in reaction to his work, several scholars have pointed out that, although the connection is not universal, it is still applicable in certain cases, e.g. Howgego (1995, 41); Meadows (2001). It is generally thought that all active mints of the fourth and third centuries in Italy were independent communities: e.g. Cantilena (1996, 61); see Vitale (1999, 46). Capua only produced coinage at the time of its defection to Hannibal during the Second Punic War. None of the Roman citizen colonies produce their own coinages. Obviously, if the legends on II Campania Coinage 2–4 are indeed personal names, the spectrum changes.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary. Although coins can inform us about the decisions made by their producers in many ways, we cannot always be sure that these decisions were made intentionally. For example, it seems that the language used in the legends often gives a good indication of the cultural background of those responsible for production. We should consider, however, that this could either be the result of an automatic choice for the producer's own language, or of a more conscious, performative choice for a language that created specific cultural associations.[41] In addition, the significance of the types could also differ from case to case. For example, it is difficult to read the use of the types of Apollo and a man-faced bull as intrinsically significant for each of the producing communities; the fact that they were Neapolitan types may have been much more important than the fact that these were Apollo and (probably) Acheloos.

The first group of coins with Apollo/man-faced bull and star or lyre shows interaction in a rather circumscribed geographical area: the two close-by communities of Cales and Teanum produce a Neapolitan coin type. It is noteworthy—though not surprising—that a Latin colony and an Italian ally follow a Neapolitan example here: Rome's own production in this period was restricted to two small bronze issues, the first probably also produced in Naples.[42] In comparison to the first Roman issue, with its legend ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ in Greek, the legends of these coins seem to be a more faithful reflection of the different cultural backgrounds of these communities, with Greek on the coinage of Naples, Latin for Cales, and Oscan for Teanum. The adoption of Neapolitan types may have been practical in the first place: with Naples being the most important coinage producer in the region, the use of the same types would have added to the acceptability of the new coinages. In addition, the close geographical vicinity between Cales and Teanum suggests mutual influence as well. At the same time, Teanum's local type which combined the man-faced bull with star with the head of Hermes/Mercury (HNItaly 456), shows that local adaptations could be made as well.

Such a local drive can also be posited for the other communities under study that produced local types: Suessa, Aesernia, and Larinum.[43] While the context in which these coinages were produced may have been quite different (see above for discussion of the date of the Larinum types), the language of the

41 *Cf.* Papadopoulos (2002, 27) on the way written language does not necessarily reflect spoken language, and can be used ideologically also in the case of coin legends.

42 HNItaly 251 / RRC 1.1 and HNItaly 252 / RRC 2.1.

43 Naples also produced several other bronze issues in the period under study, but I will not discuss these here.

legends again fits the cultural background of the producing communities: the colonies of Suessa and Aesernia have a legend in Latin, while that of Larinum is in Oscan, written in the Latin alphabet. The types show interaction with a broader cultural world. For example, the local type of Suessa Aurunca shows Mercury and Hercules strangling a lion; although a similar Mercury is only known from nearby Teanum, the theme of Hercules strangling a lion is well known in the South in the late fourth century.[44] Instead of copying such types exactly however, we see that in the early phase of the First Punic War, and possibly already earlier, existing types and iconographies were combined to create new local issues. At Suessa and Aesernia (and perhaps also in Larinum), these local types were probably produced in the early years of the First Punic War, while later during the war, only common types were produced.

Interaction in production on a somewhat larger and more intensive scale is found for the first time with the Minerva/cock bronzes. The six communities involved are geographically close. All of them use Latin for the legend, which in the case of Teanum means a change from previous issues, which had an Oscan legend.[45] Surely this was a deliberate choice on the part of the producers, seeking to adhere to practices of the other communities in this group.[46] In addition, this is the only group with a common type that does not follow a Neapolitan example: instead, an original combination of types was developed for these coinages.[47] The group is also rather uniform in its formal aspects: few letters and symbols are used, and the flans are similar. Interaction between (representatives of) various communities here clearly leads to a higher degree of uniformity. Some durability of this development is indicated by the fact that Suessa and Aquinum also produced lighter issues with the same types, which implies that not all these coins were produced at once. The high level of interaction between communities in this case was probably facilitated by the geographical clustering of the producing communities, but the common task of contributing to the Roman war effort may have been a factor as well.

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44 The relevant issue with the head of Mercury from Teanum is HNItaly 456. On Hercules strangling the lion as a coin type: Cantilena, Cerchiai & Pontrandolfo Greco (2004). The type was introduced in the West first in Syracuse, to then be adopted by Heraclea, Taras and several other mints in Lucania, Samnium, and Apulia (Arpi, Teate, Rubi, Caelia, and Peripoloi Pitanatai).

45 There are coins of the Minerva/cock type with a legend in Oscan, but whether they were produced on behalf of a community is questionable; see notes 6 and 36.

46 See Crawford et al. (2011, 6).

47 The head of Minerva is a common type in (southern) Italy. The cock is used on a Neapolitan triobol (HNItaly 581), but also on the cast bronze of Hatria (HNItaly 15) and Luceria (HNItaly 669).

The role of the Roman army in these developments becomes clearer with the last group of coinages with Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by a flying Victory. This group shows an expansion of the communities involved: in addition to communities in northern Campania and southern Latium, further away places in southern Latium and Samnium now also produced the same coinage types, all the way to Larinum on the Adriatic coast. In the context of the First Punic War this interaction beyond regional contacts must have happened in the context of the Roman army. The nature of interaction is different in this case than for the Minerva/cock bronzes, and we can recognize this in the resulting coinages. The more dispersed group of communities was less able to innovate, or to reach a high level of uniformity: the group again uses the Neapolitan type, and it is less consistent than the Minerva/cock group, with various symbols and letters accompanying the types, and legends in Greek, Latin, and Oscan.

It is interesting that the legend of the Victory bronzes of Teanum is in Oscan, while, as we have seen, the Minerva/cock bronzes of Teanum had a legend in Latin. Although there is no direct evidence for Teanum that the Minerva/cock bronzes predate the Victory bronzes, this would be the most logical sequence in view of the general chronology discussed in the previous section. A change 'back' to Oscan is therefore a distinct possibility, and would show that integration may be superficial, and is, in such circumstances, not an irreversible process. Perhaps in the case of the Victory bronzes, the use of Latin as language for the legend was just less important in the broader group of producing communities involved. Also worthy of note is that Larinum uses a Greek legend for this issue, while its local types have a legend in Oscan in the Latin alphabet: a possible explanation would be that the type was still mainly associated with Naples.[48]

As discussed above, in many cases, the selection of common types is likely to have been a question of convenience rather than culturally significant per se. This does not mean, however, that the use of common types was meaningless from an integration perspective: it has implications for the perceptions of users. As we have seen, especially the Minerva/cock bronzes and the Victory bronzes have a wide distribution over Central Italy, showing the same pattern as the contemporary Roman and Neapolitan issues. In such a context, the common type would heighten the recognisability of these groups of mints, and could arguably result in an association between the producing communities in the minds of the users. If, as seems likely, the military connotation of these coins was known, the legends, in their different languages and scripts, would serve as a reminder that different communities were contributing to the

48 For a similar observation: Crawford et al. (2011, 6).

Roman war effort. More generally, the wider use of different coins must have heightened the users' awareness of other communities on the Italian peninsula, which thus came to be more closely intertwined.

## Conclusion

In several respects, the First Punic War worked as an integrative force in the field of coinage production in Italy: it caused more communities to produce coinage, and the spectrum of coinages produced became more uniform, both in terms of weights and in terms of types. The development was not linear however, and is subject to change depending on decisions that were made locally, though clearly informed by a wider context. At the level of production, interaction often probably was a question of convenience. Although uniformity and cultural identification were therefore no explicit goal, coinage production did become more uniform, and different communities in Italy became more familiar with each other through the use of each other's coinages.

To see the role of these local coinages in the context of the history of Roman expansion, we may have a brief look at Polybius' ponderings on the institutional dynamics of expansion. In his comparison of the Roman Republic with others, he explains Sparta's inability to conquer much of Greece by the fact—among others—that they only used their own iron currency, while expansion beyond the Peloponnese would have required the use of a more universal currency.[49] Rome probably faced similar problems in the early years of expansion in southern Italy, as may be concluded from their first experiments with struck bronze and silver in the later part of the fourth century. In the years before the introduction of the denarius, this problem was solved by the various local productions.

None of the characteristics of these coinages were very 'Roman' at all, but Rome did create the circumstances in which local communities started their own production. In this context, interaction between local producers and consumers grew in scale and intensity. Thus, local coinage production was both influenced by and contributed to broader and more intensive contacts throughout Central Italy.

49 Plb. 6.49.8–9. I am grateful to Jelle Prins for drawing my attention to this passage and discussing it with me.

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CHAPTER 4

# The Archaeology of 'Integration' in Western Lucania: A Review of Recent Work

*Maurizio Gualtieri*

## Introduction

The Tyrrhenian coast of the Italian peninsula, between Poseidonia/Paestum and Buxentum, and its immediate hinterland, has been the subject of many recent archaeological campaigns. It is therefore a privileged vantage point for the study of processes of cultural interchange and landscape transformations which took place in the course of the later first millennium BC in the Italian peninsula and the successive developments set in motion by the ascendancy of Rome. In several parts of southern Italy the later first millennium was characterized by intensified contacts between the Greek cities of Magna Graecia, the local Italic communities, and the emerging power of Rome, with a visible acceleration in the course of the third century. These contacts, it is to be underlined, were not, however, confined to military confrontations, as the literary sources would make us believe,[1] but involved several aspects of cultural interchange, including transformations in settlement organization and the rural landscape, which eventually resulted in the emergence of complex forms of settlement organization among the Italic peoples.[2]

Within the region under consideration an outstanding case study is no doubt the *oppidum* at Roccagloriosa, in the hinterland of Policastro (ancient Buxentum), which has provided exceptional documentation on the settlement system of a fourth-century Lucanian community and exceptional epigraphic evidence for the emergence of an institutional structure during the final decades of the fourth century.[3] At the site of Poseidonia/Paestum, a thriving Greek city of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the influx of Italic peoples from the Samnitic hinterland and the cultural interchange with other neighbouring Italic peoples produced phenomena of 'hybridization' which have little in common with the process of 'barbarization' so lamented by Aristoxenos of

1 In particular, Strabo's highly coloured narratives.

2 For a thorough analysis of phenomena of 'secondary' urbanization in the course of the fourth and third centuries BC, see Osanna (ed.) (2009).

3 Gualtieri & Fracchia (2001).

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Tarentum.[4] The end result, as pointed out in a recent overview of the Lucanian phase of the city, was a sophisticated, multicultural Italic community in Western Lucania, during the fourth and early third centuries BC.[5]

Not surprisingly, in the light of a fast growing body of archaeological evidence, the dominant descriptive vocabulary of the most recent contributions on the topic of cultural interchange in Magna Graecia places much greater emphasis on concepts such as 'integration', 'identity', and 'continuity', while using less and less the more traditional 'loaded' terms such as Hellenization and Romanization, which often imply a reading of the progressive adoption of a new language, different social habits, and new types of atifacts as an expression of giving up an identity to adopt a new one. As a result, there has been a marked shift in academic perspective, with the adoption of a new conceptual framework in the study of the *Italici* and the interpretation of the major sociocultural changes of the later first millennium BC, which affected many of the Italic communities of central and southern Italy.

## From Poseidonia to Paestum

This renewed interest in the study of the Italic peoples *per se* has produced very important contributions on the problem of status and role of the peoples—in the case of Poseidonia/Paestum, these would be the Oscan-speaking Lucanians of Samnitic descent, who came to settle into the Greek city of Poseidonia.[6] Far from a 'barbarization' of the city lamented by Greek eyewitnesses, both the well-studied figurative repertoire of the painted chamber tombs of the Italic elites and the use of the Oscan language documented for public inscriptions are new important features of the fourth-century Lucanian city and point to the key role of the Italic elites in the sociopolitical organization of the city in the later fourth and early third century BC. Of particular relevance is a dedicatory inscription to Jupiter on a stele set up by the magistrate Statis Statilies and found in the early 1980s on the lower tiers of the *ekklesiasterion*, the assembly hall of the Greek city.[7] This suggests Italic membership and authority among the ruling elite of Paestum in the later fourth century.

4 In a well-known passage on the history of early Italy, written in the second half of the fourth century (fr.124 Wehrli).

5 Wonder (2002).

6 Strabo 6.1.3.

7 Antonini (1981); Greco (1981). Relevant comments in Poccetti (1979, no. 152); Del Tutto Palma (1990, 52–6, no. Pe1).

Other epigraphic texts in Oscan made available by the most recent research at the site are a welcome addition to the sizeable group of Latin inscriptions pertaining to the colony and spanning the last three centuries BC.[8] Although still very scarce, especially when compared to the quantity of Latin inscriptions, the new Oscan inscriptions allow a first glimpse on phenomena of social mobility and integration which took place in the colony between the mid-republican period and the 'renaissance' of the Augustan age. Most relevant to this particular aspect of social mobility during the Lucanian and Roman phase is the recently dicovered graffito on a late fourth/early third-century vase with the Oscan name Minieis, the genitive of the family name Minis and corresponding to the Latin Minius/Mineius.[9] The Mineii are well attested at Paestum and thus it would be reasonable, as Torelli does, to see in the individual who owned the vase an ancestor of a Mineia M. f., mentioned in a number of dedicatory inscriptions as an outstanding representative of female evergetism at Paestum in the Augustan renewal of the city.[10] Together with the better known Digitii and Numonii, also of Oscan descent, and, together with a large number of less well known Oscan-derived family names in the epigraphic corpus of the Latin colony they indicate to what extent the aristocracy of colony derived from the aristocracy of the Lucanian city.[11]

The Latin colony established in 273 BC inside the existing urban center of Poseidonia/Paestum is, in some respects, one of the best documented case studies of a colonial implantation at the site of a pre-existing, well-structured urban settlement. The systematic work conducted under the direction of Greco and Theodorescu in the late 1970s and 1980s has been mainly concentrated on the urban settlement. A major target of this long-term collaborative research project was the study of the urbanized area within the massive wall of the later Lucanian period, in order to reassess changes occuring in the architectural lay-out and urban fabric of the settlement through the Greek, Lucanian, and Roman phases. Not surprisingly this project has produced a detailed and well-documented picture of changes in the urban fabric, over a span of many centuries, and has been instrumental for a radical re-reading of the Lucanian and Roman phases of the city. Indeed, the conventional view, accepted until very

8 Mello & Voza (1966).

9 Torelli (2003).

10 Gualtieri (2003, 75–8 and fig. 14). The most recent discussion of these inscriptions is Crawford (ed.) (2011).

11 Torelli (2003, 105). See also the general picture of Roman Paestum in Torelli (1999, 43–88). Quite appropriately, Torelli speaks of 'continuità gentilizia'. See for the onomastics of Roman Italy www.saskiaroselaar.com.

recently by most scholars, assumed a quiet transition of the Greek city through a Lucanian phase, but postulated major disruptions in the urban fabric caused by the establishment of the colony, an assumption which has been strongly challenged in recent times.[12]

The more nuanced recent picture of the long-term transformations in the urban fabric and the elements of continuity indicated by the epigraphic record, however, are so far not matched by relevant archaeological evidence from the surrounding countryside, which might have provided a very useful complementary picture of the colonial landscape around the very well documented urban site. To be sure, in the area immediatey north of the city there has been systematic research with sophisticated aerial photography, in order to detect possible land measurement and division. A likely *decumanus* has been identified, which was formed by a road dated, very loosely, between 300 BC and AD 79.[13] Obviously the wide chronological arc of the documentation does not leave space for any reasonable hypothesis on the timing of such land division in the surrounding territory, nor can we postulate any direct connection with possible land assignments to the Latin colonists. What is more, the fact that the reported distance of ca. 270 meters between *decumani* is almost equivalent to 1000 Oscan feet further discourages a specific Roman timing for these traces of land division. Greco in fact reports the presence of some new rural settlement at the north edge of the territory of Paestum,[14] but again the dating is inconclusive and only a generic date of the third century BC has so far been proposed. Overall, it would be fair to conclude that, with the uncertainty of the dates of traces of occupation in the surrounding territory, the evidence so far would not seem to imply major convulsions in the countryside and rather suggests significant elements of continuity in occupation.[15]

12 In a recent and somewhat 'deconstructionist' overview of the transformations in the urban fabric of Poseidonia/Paestum, Crawford (2006, 59) aptly underlines to what extent the conventional view and the postulated equations between political change and transformation of the urban framework at Poseidonia/Paestum imply a sub-text "that the nice Lucanians did not change things very much, while the nasty Romans changed things a lot".

13 Gasparri (1994).

14 Greco (1988, 84–5).

15 So too Crawford (2006, 65).

## The *ager Buxentinus*: Landscape Changes in the Native Countryside (Third and Second Centuries BC)

Just about 50 kilometers further south, in the same district of western Lucania, the data now available from the hinterland of Policastro/Buxentum may help fill the gap existing in the archaeological evidence from Roman Paestum between the well-documented urban settlement on the one hand and the surrounding countryside on the other. The territory surrounding the colony at Paestum remains to be explored by systematic surface survey, in order to provide a credible picture of the colonial landscape. At Policastro, however, survey evidence from the well-preserved hinterland allows a close reading of the changing rural landscape between the third and first centuries BC,[16] even though, despite on-going excavations of the site of the Roman colony, the early stages of the Roman settlement itself remain uncertain. Concomitantly with the large-scale exploration of a major fourth- and third-century BC nucleated Italic settlement, the Lucanian *oppidum* at Roccagloriosa, a systematic survey of the surrounding countryside was conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The Mingardo/Bussento field survey, originally conceived as an investigation of the agrarian landscape of the fortified hilltop settlement, was soon expanded into a broader diacronic analysis of settlement patterns in a well defined micro-region which includes the hilly terrains between the middle and lower courses of the Mingardo and Bussento rivers, in the immediate hinterland of the Gulf of Policastro.[17] The evidence retrieved has provided a detailed diacronic picture of changes in the pattern of rural settlement in those crucial centuries which bridged the transition from the indigenous settlement organization (the territory centered around the Lucanian *oppidum*) to a new 'Roman' landscape. The fertile hinterland along the lower course of the Mingardo and Bussento rivers has produced first-hand documentation on changes in rural settlement patterns between the third and first centuries BC.

Indeed, an evident fact highlighted by the survey results is that the settlement picture emerging from the available data is much at odds with the literary accounts, which state that the colony of 194 BC at Buxentum was established in an uninhabited wasteland and had to be refounded in 186 since it was

16 Altough the coastal strip at the mouth of the Bussento river has been invaded by modern tourist establishments, the flatlands further north and the vast highland area towards the mountainous hinterland have preserved very readable traces of ancient rural settlements.

17 Fracchia, Gualtieri & De Polignac (1983, 345–50).

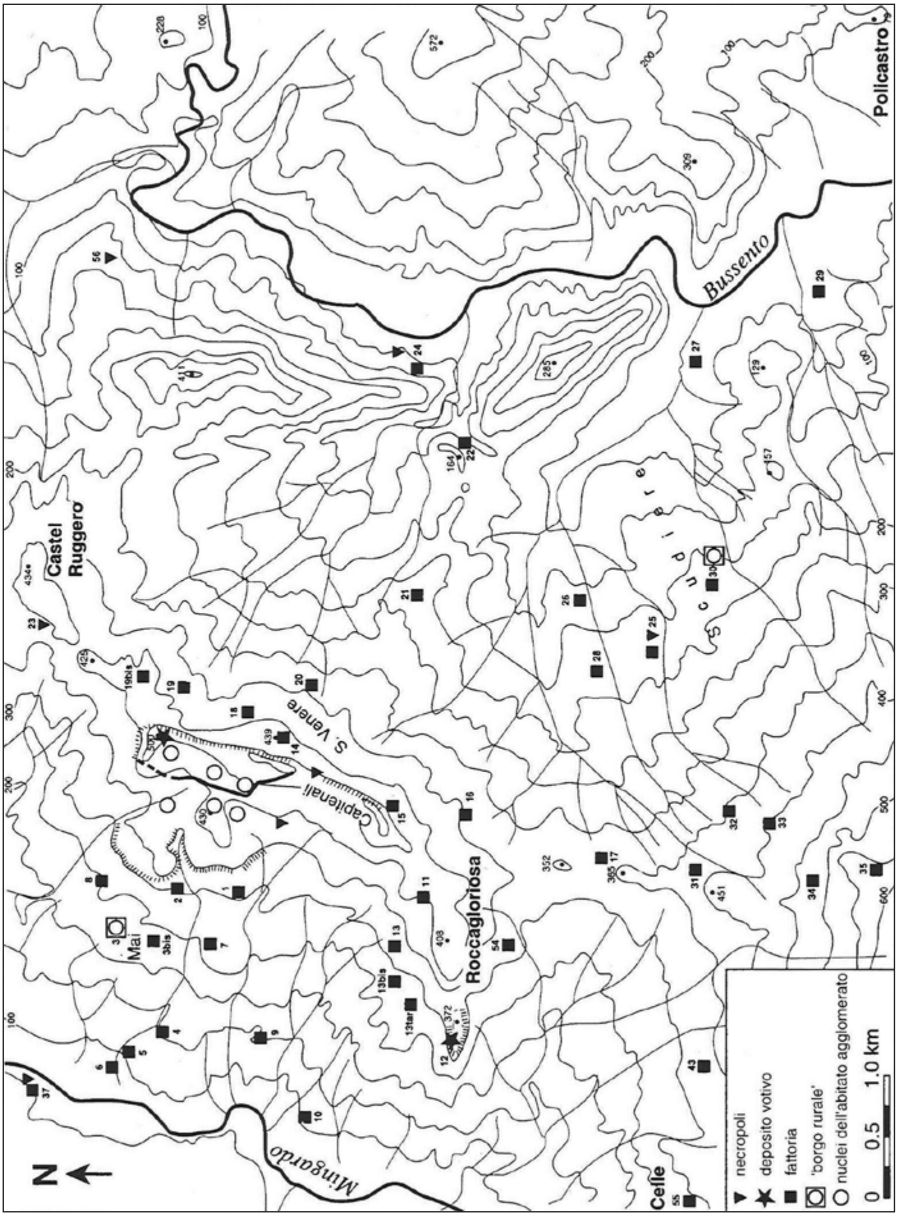


FIGURE 4.1 *Late fourth-third century settlement pattern in the Mingardo-Bussentio region.*

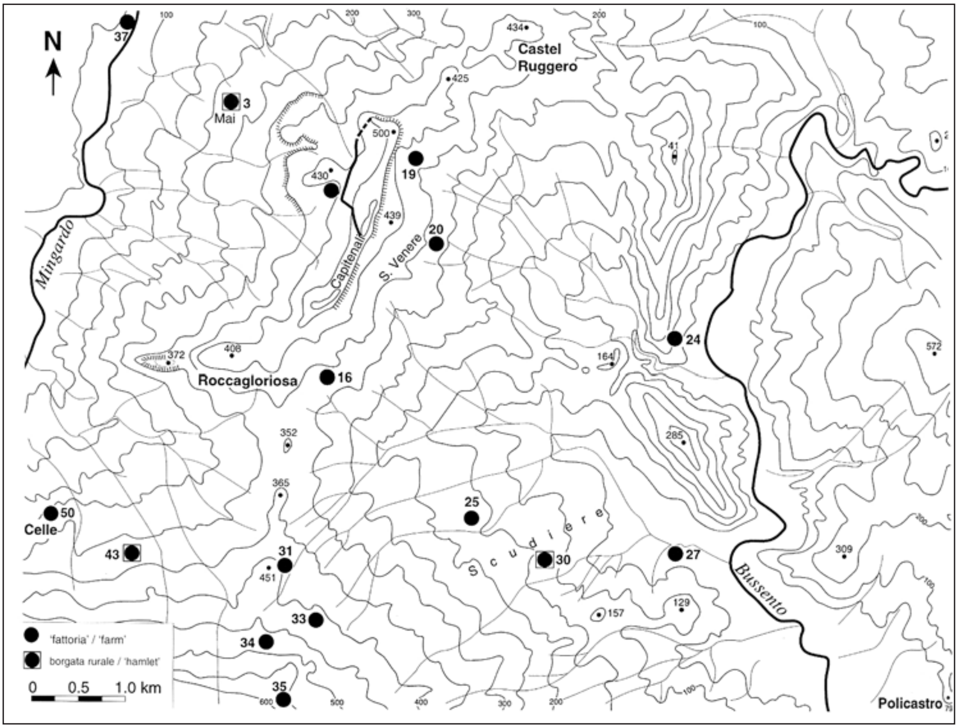


FIGURE 4.2 *Sites of the second and first centuries BC in relation to Policastro (Buxentum).*

found deserted.[18] A very resonable hypothesis to explain the striking contrast between Livy's account and the emerging picture of a fairly healthy countryside through the second and first centuries BC, provided by the archaeological exploration in the hinterland of the Roman settlement, was formulated a few years ago by Rosenstein. He suggested that many of the colonists had left for the simple reason that they found better opportunities elsewhere and not certainly because they could not surive in Buxentum,[19] as was argued by the conventional view of a post-Hannibalic phenomenon of generalized desertification in the countryside of southern Italy. In fact, with specific reference to second-century BC colonization, a number of scholars have recently pointed out a high degree of mobility and emigration in citizen colonies.[20]

18 Liv. 34.45.13.
19 Rosenstein (2004, 145–6 and n. 22).
20 Broadhead (2008, 461–2).

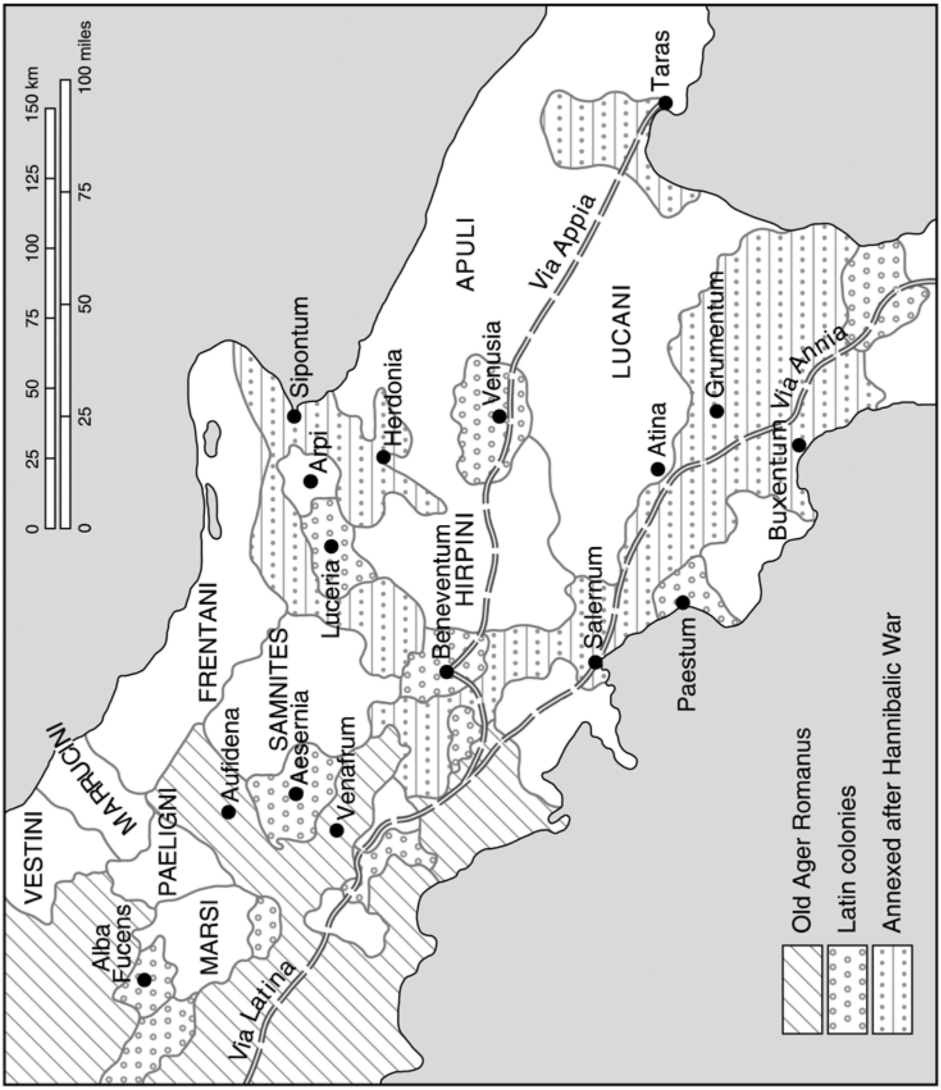


FIGURE 4.3 *Map of southern Italy with probable extent of* ager publicus (adapted from Fronda 2010).

I would add that the situation in the surrounding territory at the time of the foundation of the colony may indeed have appeared rather unattractive to the incoming colonial settlers, with several rural sites (farms or villages) in the hilly areas nearby, rising from the middle courses of the Mingardo/Bussento rivers toward the massive ridge of Monte Capitenali, where the largely abandoned Lucanian *oppidum* was located. Only a narrow coastal strip at the mouth of the Bussento river would have been used for the lots assigned to the colonists.[21] Given the topography of the region, it is highly improbable that the colonists occupied those hilly areas, far away from a service centre provided by the colony and removed from the other colonists. It is much more likely instead that most, if not all, of the sites documented in the hilly territory north of the colony would have been occupied and farmed by the descendants of the previous Lucanian inhabitants. The broader socio-economic picture in peripheral areas of the Italian penisula, much more complicated than an often invoked generic 'desertification' is lucidly stated by David: "Dans les régions ... qui etaient trop éloignées des marchés et des routes de communications *les structures traditionnelles pouvaient sans doute perdurer sans trop de difficultés*".[22]

Rather, the chronology and distribution and especially the density of rural sites identified in the hinterland area (which may be considered to have made up the *ager Buxentinus*) would seem to defy the conventional view that the 'plantation' of a Roman colony in a native territory created a radical disruption in the local settlement pattern.[23] While highlighting these aspects of the survey evidence, I would also point out, however, the possible impact that the establishment of the colony at the mouth of the Bussento river may have had on the distribution of rural sites of the surrounding territory in the second and early first centuries BC. This can be gleaned from a closer reading of the chronology and distribution maps of the rural sites shown at Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). While in the distribution map of fourth and third-century sites in Fig. 4.2 we can observe a rural landscape centered around the Lucanian *oppidum*,[24] which played the role of major political and administrative centre in the region until at least the end of the third century, for the second and early first centuries BC

21 Stephenson (1891).

22 David (1994, 120); italics mine. See for a recent discussion of the relevance of survey evidence, in the context of systematic, problem-oriented archaeological research, with a thorough reassessment of settlement change in the early stages of mid- and late-Republican colonization, Pelgrom (2008).

23 Recent assessments of the topography, density, and break-down into categories of the rural sites can be found in Gualtieri (2008, 396–400); Fracchia & Gualtieri (forthcoming).

24 Gualtieri & De Polignac (1991).

there is an undeniable shift of emphasis, with a larger number of sites gravitating toward the lower course of the Bussento river valley, where the Roman colony was established at the mouth of the river.[25]

This may be partly due to the fact that the centralizing function of the major Lucanian *oppidum* ar Roccagloriosa had long ceased, most probably already at the end of the third century, and there was a process of re-alignment of sites in the course of the second century along the new road network. Especially larger rural agglomerations, i.e. small-scale nucleated settlements, such as Fontana Scudiere and Morigialdo, appeared at strategic points on the communication routes between the Bussento valley and neighbouring districts of western Lucania. There was, however, continuity of use in various areas of the *oppidum*, and this is another indication of continuity of occupation of the hilly hinterand of the colony, most probably still settled by the descendants of the original Italic occupants.[26]

### *Ager Publicus* and Italic Territories

One last significant aspect of the survey data, only very recently reassessed and certainly providing scope for further research, is land distribution, generally associated to the implantation of a Roman colony. A closer scrutiny of the *ager Buxentinus* survey makes it quite clear that the generally postulated impact of land distributions associated with the establishment of the colony do not seem to result in substantial changes of the rural landscape until the very end of the first century BC. Indeed, as pointed out by several scholars, it is mere guesswork that all colonial foundations implied *agri centuriati* and thus confiscations and land assignments.[27] It is very likely, as already suggested above, that much of the land in the hilly territory to the north of Buxentum was still farmed by the descendants of the original Italic settlers, whatever the juridical status of that land may have been.[28] We might be dealing with traditional land

25 Gualtieri & De Polignac (1991).

26 Gualtieri & Fracchia (2001).

27 Pelgrom (2008, 366–7). See now the Proceedings (in press) of the 2012 conference on "Colonization and Expropriation of Land" held at the French School in Rome; in particular the papers by Fracchia and Rizakis. Ample discussion of the settlement evidence in Pelgrom (2008, 336–42).

28 Bokonyi, Costantini & Fitt (1993) show a that the fourth/third century BC farming economy of this territory was characterised by agricultural intensification with the presence of arboreal plants, especially vines and olives.

which was not *ager publicus* or *ager publicus* which may have not been officially claimed by the Roman authorities.[29] All the more so, when we consider the generally accepted view that in southern Italy, especially in Lucania, where vast expanses were turned into public land in the third century BC, much of the *ager publicus* was held by the defeated Italic communities.[30]

Some elements of continuity in the pottery evidence from rural sites in the region, which lasted until the early first century BC, point at the persistence of artisanal traditions at quite a number of rural sites till the end of the second century BC. This would be an added element in favour of such a hypothesis of continued occupation of land by local inhabitants. Much research, however, remains to be done on patterns of landholding in non-Roman territory, in order to clariy this aspect of the use of *ager publicus*.[31] On the other hand, the lots assigned to the 300 families of colonists would have rather been located on the coastal strip,[32] where it is most likely that the (possible) later assignations mentioned in the *Liber Coloniarum* would have occurred in the second half of the first century BC.[33] Probably, it is only at this late stage, in the later decades of the first century BC, that we can really speak of an actual *ager Buxentinus*.[34]

## Conclusion

The two case studies from western Lucania discussed in the previous paragraphs provide a good illustration of the day-to-day context in which the incorporated Italic peoples interacted with Romans. At Paestum, it has become increasingly clear that any *a priori* assumptions about a direct causal effect between institutional changes brought about by the Latin colony and the transformation of the urban fabric are to be taken with extreme caution.[35]

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29 A very recent discussion of the argument in the context of an overview on the extent and use of the *ager publicus* in Apulia and Lucania is Gallo (2012), with good points on the situation around Policastro/Buxentum (pp. 58–9); see also Fracchia & Gualtieri (forthcoming). On the more general historical aspects of the problem, Roselaar (2008, esp. 595–6) on southern Italy and Lucania.

30 Roselaar (2008, 597); see (2010) on *ager publicus* in general.

31 Gabba (1979, 51); David (1994); Roselaar(2008, 596 and n. 91).

32 Stephenson (1891, 60) provides a figure of 6 *iugera* for each of the 300 families, for a total of 1,800 *iugera* or ca. 450 hectares.

33 See discussion of the very ambiguous passage in the *Liber Coloniarum* in Gualtieri (1996, 545–6).

34 Fracchia & Gualtieri (forthcoming).

35 Crawford (2006, 67).

Thus, the conventional view of a a major restructuring set in motion by the arrival of the colonists has been seriously questioned by recent re-readings of the rich archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the city. Data from the surrounding territory are still too scarce and somewhat unsystematic and do not allow any credible reconstruction of the colonial landscape. They do provide, however, some suggestion that the foundation of the Latin colony at Paestum, did not cause a major convulsion in the organization and occupation of the territory.

At Policastro/Buxentum, on the other hand, on the basis of the more recent analyses of the survey evidence, the overall picture of the rural landscape is one of slow transition in the settlement pattern. Here we detect a reconfiguration of the distribution of rural sites, which may have been set in motion by the disappearance of the Italic *oppidum* of Roccagloriosa at the end of the third century BC, and was in large part owed to the internal socio-political dynamics of the local population rather than being set in motion by a generic external (in this specific case, 'Roman') influence—whatever 'Roman influence' may mean in a period of intense interaction among the mosaic of peoples and cultures of the Italian peninsula in the third to first centuries BC.

All told, both case studies, with their obvious differences but also with several elements in common, concur in highlighting the necessity to distinguish developments in the various regions of Italy. A 'regional' approach in the study of phenomena of cultural interchange between the conquered Italic peoples and the emerging hegemonic power of Rome is necessary,[36] if we are to evaluate in societal and historical terms a growing body of archaeological data bearing on the phenomena of cultural interchange and related processes of social and economic integration, which took place with growing intensity in the second and first centuries BC.

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36 See Roth (2012).

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CHAPTER 5

# Volaterrae and the *Gens Caecina*

*Fiona C. Tweedie*

## Introduction

In a letter to A. Caecina written in 46, Cicero complimented his friend as coming from the most illustrious family in a part of Italy that commanded respect.[1] He had reason to speak well of the Caecinae, as he had been close to the family for much of his career and had benefitted from their support at several critical moments in his life. The relationship between the Caecinae and Rome was not, however, always straightforward or easy during the transformative period of the first century BC. As the principal family of Volaterrae in Etruria, the Caecinae took a lead role in negotiating with Rome on behalf of their community. In itself, this was nothing new. Elite networks had always been central to diplomatic relations throughout ancient Italy. However, Rome's victory in the Social War shifted the balance of power firmly towards Rome, meaning that local elites were increasingly reliant on Roman patrons, rather than a network of peers, to pursue their interests. This paper will examine the impact that closer ties with Rome had on both the Caecinae and Volaterrae during the first century. Being Etruscan could have both advantages and disadvantages in post Social War Italy and I shall explore the ways in which the Caecinae made use of their Etruscan heritage even as they became more firmly integrated into the Roman world.

## Volaterrae

In his geography of Italy, Strabo describes Volaterrae as situated on a hill within a ravine. This hill, which is fifteen stadia from base to crest, is steep and difficult to ascend.[2] The city itself is walled which reinforces its natural defences. The site was settled from the tenth century, and survey work in the area has

1 Cic. *Fam* 234.9: *In parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimus*. All dates are BC unless specified otherwise. All references to Cicero's Letters are to the edition of Shackleton Bailey.

2 Strabo 5.2.6.

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found evidence for small farms in the surrounding countryside.[3] Livy reports a battle between Roman and Etruscan forces in the area of Volaterrae in 298, after which the victorious Romans devastated the countryside.[4] By the end of the third century, Volaterrae had a treaty with Rome, as it supplied timber and grain to the shipbuilding efforts of P. Cornelius Scipio (cos. 205, 194) in 205.[5] The Cecina valley survey found evidence of a small decline in the number of farm sites between the Hellenistic and late Republican periods but there are no indications of a significant shift in settlement patterns around Volaterrae during the second century BC.[6] The Caecinae are well attested in the town. Four family tombs, containing urns with a mixture of Etruscan and Latin inscriptions have been excavated.[7]

Like much of Etruria, Volaterrae does not appear to have been heavily involved in the Social War. It is likely that the community accepted Roman citizenship at this time, possibly under the *Lex Julia* of 90. This law granted citizenship to communities that had either not joined the conflict or laid down their arms by a given date.[8] For communities that had a favourable treaty with Rome, the decision to accept citizenship was not made lightly. Cicero reports debate in the Greek communities of Heraclea and Neapolis about the desirability of Roman citizenship.[9] Similarly, for an ancient and independent Etruscan community, Roman citizenship may not have been regarded as wholly desirable. In the changed political landscape that resulted from the defeat of allied Italia, however, Roman citizenship became the norm throughout the peninsula. Failure to accept it could leave a community in an inferior position to neighbours that had previously been equal or even of lesser local importance. From the evidence of Cicero, which I will discuss in greater detail below, it is clear that the Volaterrani had been granted citizenship at some point prior to 83. At the time of Cicero's speech, however, they had not been enrolled in the census of 70/69.

Despite coming through the Social War apparently unscathed, Volaterrae did not fare well in the conflict that followed the return of L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (cos. 88, 80) from the east in 83. As the forces opposing Sulla retreated north, a group that included proscribed men made their last stand at Volaterrae.

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3 Terrenato (1998, 95).

4 Liv. 10.12.

5 Liv. 28.45.

6 Terrenato (1998, 96).

7 Oleson (1974).

8 Vel. Pat. 2.16.4.

9 Cic. *Balb*. 21.

Thanks to Volaterrae's defensible position, the siege dragged on for two years and there is evidence that Sulla himself spent some time there.[10] There are a number of possible reasons for Volaterrae's apparent opposition to Sulla. Marius had famously enjoyed the support of Etruria and had chosen Telamon as his landing point when he returned to Italy from exile. Appian reports that Cn. Papirius Carbo (cos. 85, 84) and L. Cornelius Cinna (cos. 87–84) had tried to secure the loyalty of the Italians by claiming that Sulla would take away their newly won rights.[11] Threat to their status may have encouraged the Volaterrani to resist the Sullan forces. Geography may, however, have been as much of a factor as politics. Volatarrae's natural defences made it an attractive site for men fleeing for their lives. Like Nola in Campania, Volaterrae may have been drawn into the conflict by its ability to withstand a siege, whatever the opinions of the inhabitants may have initially been.

For many non-Roman communities, dealing with Rome was a lot like catching a tiger, or perhaps wolf, by the tail. Disengaging was virtually impossible. After a protracted siege, Volaterrae surrendered to the Sullan forces. The details that we have of the surrender strongly suggest that the Volaterrani, unable to hold out any longer, decided to make terms with their besiegers. Granius Licinianus reports blandly that at this time the proscribed were expelled from the town and cut down by the Roman cavalry.[12] From this bare report, we can infer that the leaders of Volaterrae, as part of negotiating their surrender and in an attempt to protect their own people, agreed to hand over the wanted Romans. Despite their cooperation in this matter, the Volaterrani suffered a diminution of rights, from full Roman citizenship to the *ius Ariminensium*, and confiscation of territory. Although no Roman colonists were sent out by Sulla, the designation of territory as *ager Romanus* was to present a problem for Volaterrae in the following decades.

## *Pro Caecina*: Inheritance and Citizenship

In 69, the Volaterran A. Caecina found himself in the Roman forum, represented by M. Tullius Cicero (cos. 63), defending his right to property owned by his late wife, Caesennia. Caesennia had been a wealthy widow when she married Caecina. On her death, she left the bulk of her estate to her second husband, as her son from her first marriage had predeceased her. She also left

10 Strabo 5.2.6. Sulla's camp at Volaterrae is mentioned by Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20.

11 App. *BC* 1.76.

12 Gran. Lic. 36.

a small legacy to her friend and agent, Sextus Aebutius. The estate included a farm near Tarquinia that had belonged to her first husband, M. Fulcinius. Aebutius attempted to claim this farm for himself, initially by claiming that it was not part of Caesennia's property but in fact belonged to him.[13] He then added a second part to his claim: as Caecina was not a Roman citizen, he could not inherit from Caesennia, who had been one.[14] Frier suggests that the issue of Caecina's citizenship only became important in the latter stages of the dispute between the two, when Caecina refused to yield to Aebutius' attempts to increase his share of Caesennia's estate.[15] Initially, the two agreed to use the Roman legal form of *deductio*, whereby Caecina would be symbolically expelled from the farm, as a preliminary to a court case concerning the ownership of the farm. Aebutius, however, went back on this agreement and instead attempted to stop Caecina entering the farm at all with real violence.[16] Only once the pair was in court and Aebutius was under pressure does he seem to have seriously raised the issue of Caecina's citizenship.

Cicero's response to the citizenship issue in the surviving speech is twofold. Caecina possessed the *ius Ariminensium*, which gave him the rights of *conubium* and *commercium*, meaning that he could legally marry and inherit from a Roman citizen.[17] This surely answers Aebutius' claim quite effectively. Cicero, however, takes the opportunity to make a broader point and goes on to argue that Caecina should be regarded as a Roman citizen as Sulla's act of taking citizenship from the Italian communities had itself been illegal.[18] Citizenship, Cicero argues, can be resigned by acts such as refusing to register in the census or undertake military service. It cannot be taken from people against their will. This line of argument confirms that the Volaterrani had been admitted to the Roman citizenship but also indicates that they had not been enrolled in the census of 70, at least at the time of the speech. Cicero makes this clear when he asks whether anyone can be called a free citizen if he is not *in numero Quiritium*, that is, enrolled by the censors. The census of 70 had been a significant moment at Rome as many of the citizens created by the Social War were enrolled and allocated to voting tribes for the first time.[19] A series of

13 Cic. *Caec.* 16.

14 Cic. *Caec.* 18.

15 Frier (1985, 21).

16 Cic. *Caec.* 20–23. The complexities of *deductio* and its intended purpose are discussed by Frier (1985, 78–92).

17 Cic. *Caec.* 102.

18 Cic. *Caec.* 95–102.

19 Wiseman (1969, 65) notes the significance of the census of 70–69.

denarii issued in that year has as its reverse scene personifications of Roma and Italia clasping hands, indicating the spirit of reconciliation that informed the year's politics.[20] W.V. Harris has argued that Cicero's discussion of the citizenship was, at least indirectly, addressed to the censors, who were still in office.[21] He suggests that, following Caecina's success in his dispute with Aebutius, the censors followed the decision of the court and registered the Volaterrani. This argument possibly gives too much weight to a civil dispute over an inheritance, but Cicero certainly took the opportunity to make an impassioned argument concerning the nature of citizenship. Subsequent events make it clear that the Volaterrani were recognised as full Roman citizens, either by the censors of 70/69 or in the subsequent census of 65/64.

The case highlights the paradoxical position of the Volaterrani and other Italian communities following the upheavals of the early first century BC. The extension of the Roman citizenship brought with it advantages but could also draw the former allies more deeply into the Roman world than they might wish. Prior to the Social War, a marriage between a man from Volaterrae and a woman from Tarquinia would have been unlikely to give rise to a court case at Rome. As the centre of power and source of law, however, Rome became the site of the dispute. For Aebutius, Caecina's ambiguous legal status offered a means by which he could attempt to increase his share of Caesennia's estate. Does his invocation of the citizenship issue simply represent opportunism on his part or was he attempting to bring more serious social issues into play? The real meaning of 'Etruscan' or 'Volaterran' in this context deserves further exploration.

Due to its problematic nature, the term 'Romanized' is not particularly helpful at this point to try to describe Caecina. It does emerge clearly from Cicero's speech that Caecina had access to excellent legal advice and felt confident employing Roman legal forms in pursuit of his claim to the estate. Cicero stresses that at every stage, Caecina was assisted and advised by a group of friends.[22] He was evidently not a naïve farmer helplessly swept up in legal proceedings beyond his comprehension. Frier goes so far as to suggest that, given his wealth and aristocratic heritage, Caecina considered himself the social superior of Aebutius, whom he viewed as an 'upstart'.[23] In this reconstruction of the relationship, Caecina is thoroughly at home in the *urbs* and does not

20 RRC 403, produced by Q. Fufius Calenus (cos. 47) and a Mucius Scaevola Cordus, identified by Crawford as the Q. Mucius Scaevola who was Pontifex from 69.

21 Harris (1971, 282).

22 Cic. *Caec.* 20.

23 Frier (1985, 20–1).

suffer any real disadvantage from his status as a Volaterran. There is indirect evidence in the speech, however, that Aebutius and his counsel had attempted to use Caecina's status as a Volaterran against him. In the surviving speech, Cicero twice makes reference to 'speaking Latin' and once suggests that the court is forgetting its Latin.[24] These remarks come at points when Cicero is discussing the meaning of the term *armatus*. Cicero's rather sarcastic tone at this point suggests that he is responding to some allegation by his opponents that his client does not speak good Latin or has failed to understand the legal process. Cicero does not explicitly claim that his client is a legal expert or particularly outstanding speaker of Latin but, taken with his frequent mentions of Caecina's friends and advisers, these remarks suggest that Aebutius had attempted at some point to cast Caecina as an outsider.

While Cicero is impassioned on the impossibility of taking someone's citizenship against his or her will, he is rather more cautious when it comes to the specific topic of Volaterrae. He does mention the social standing of the Caecinae but refers obliquely to the Sullan *dominatio* as *calamitas rei publicae* and does not offer any specific praise of Volaterrae as a community.[25] The lack of emphasis may simply reflect that Volaterrae was peripheral to the real substance of the case, which lay in the disputed ownership of the farm. It may also suggest, however, that Cicero did not feel able to turn Caecina's origins to his advantage. The Etruscans, with their distinct language and culture, were more 'foreign' to Romans of the second and first centuries than their Latin-speaking neighbours in other parts of Italy. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 168) had dismissed the Etruscan *haruspices* as *tusci ac barbari* and popular stereotypes of Etruscans emphasised their luxury and cruelty.[26] Furthermore, while the memories of the Sullan *dominatio* were uncomfortable for Rome, Volaterrae had offered sustained armed resistance to Roman forces after accepting the citizenship. Even when Cicero compliments the Volaterrani in 57, he says that Sulla was within his rights to confiscate their territory.[27] In 69, Volaterran origins were probably regarded at Rome as awkward at best. We have abundant evidence from other speeches of Cicero that highly personal attacks based on ethnic stereotypes were part of the orator's arsenal. While the evidence of the *Pro Caecina* does not point to a sustained attack on Caecina's origins, there

24 Cic *Caec.* 56, 60 on speaking Latin, 62 for the court forgetting its Latin.

25 Cic. *Caec.* 95.

26 Cic. *ND* 2.10–11. The stereotype of Etruscan decadence is discussed by Farney (2007, 133–40).

27 Cic. *Dom.* 79.

are hints that some slighting remarks were made and that Cicero felt it best to handle them obliquely rather than attempt a direct counter attack.

Ultimately, Caecina's Volaterran origins may not have mattered a great deal to the outcome of the case. Thanks to the *ius Ariminensium*, there was no real legal bar to his right to inherit and the question may have been, as Frier suggests, something of a distraction to the core issue of *possessio* of the farm. On this occasion, his connections at Rome, including his ability to secure a first-rate advocate, enabled Caecina to emerge victorious from his encounter with the Roman courts.

## Etruscan Lands

Even after the question of the Volaterrani's citizenship was settled in their favour, the fact remained that they had lost territory to Rome. As the first century progressed, demand for land in Italy grew, especially as returning generals looked for land to settle their veterans. For all Cicero might refer to Sulla's activities as a 'calamity for the state', no one at Rome was prepared to suggest that the new areas of *ager publicus* Sulla had created should be returned to their original owners. In the case of Volaterrae, he had not distributed this land to Roman colonists and the Volaterrani were able to defend it for years to come. In order to achieve this remarkable feat, I would argue that the Volaterrani, led by the Caecinae, employed a two-fold strategy, both pointing back to their distinct Etruscan past and engaging energetically with the new order at Rome.

For all they may have regarded the Etruscans as cruel and luxury-loving, the Romans held Etruscan methods of divination in high regard. The Caecinae were, we know from Cicero's correspondence with the family, experts in the *disciplina Etrusca*.[28] Religious prohibitions and unfavourable omens could be useful tools for blocking unwelcome actions. Although we do not have concrete evidence of the Volaterrani invoking the omens to block Roman colonisation, the Prophesy of Vegoia is worth considering at this point. The exact origins and meaning of this document are disputed but it is generally accepted as dating to the first century BC. It supposedly preserves the words of an Etruscan nymph regarding land division in Etruria. It claims that Jupiter himself laid down the boundaries and threatens anyone who disturbs them with destruction. Heurgon has connected it to the attempts of the tribune M. Livius Drusus to distribute land in Italy in 91 BC.[29] He argues that the prophecy

28 Cic. *Fam.* 234.3.
29 Heurgon (1959).

was used as part of a campaign to discourage Rome from disturbing land holding in Etruria. Whether we accept this exact date, the document strongly suggests that the Etruscan *principes* actively exploited their status as interpreters of divine will to attempt to influence events at Rome. Holding onto aspects of distinction and difference, rather than wholesale integration, could be valuable for negotiation with Rome.

Well-timed peals of thunder were not, however, the only way in which the Etruscans could hope to influence events. Alongside their references to their distinct past and continuing separation from Rome, the Etruscans were also able to call on their friends and patrons at Rome when under threat, either individually or collectively. The relationship between Cicero and the Caecinae continued to be significant, not just to the individual parties but to Volaterrae more generally. In 45, Cicero wrote to Caesar's legate Q. Valerius Orca on behalf of Volaterrae and asked him not to remove them from their lands.[30] In this letter, Cicero claims to have defended the lands of Volaterrae on a previous occasion, when it was under threat from 'the tribunes'. This reference is probably to the *rogatio Servilia*, the agrarian proposal of the tribune P. Servilius Rullus demolished by Cicero early in his consulship in 63. Nor was Cicero the only influential Roman statesman to whom Volaterrae could look for assistance. In December 46, Cicero wrote to P. Servilius Isauricus (cos. 48) on behalf of a member of the Caecinae to ask him to use his influence in securing a pardon from Caesar.[31] I shall return to this event later but it is important to note that the Servilii Isaurici, presumably as a result of having received the surrender of Volaterrae in 79, also had a relationship of patronage with the community.

In many ways, the influence of elite relationships when negotiating between communities was nothing new. Kathryn Lomas has explored the evidence for relationships of *hospitium* between elite houses from the archaic period.[32] The Caecinae and other leading families of Volaterrae would always have maintained networks with the *principes* of neighbouring communities as well as Rome in order to advance their own prestige and interests and negotiate on behalf of the community. However, as Lomas notes, as the centre of gravity shifted in Rome's favour, the power balance changed and relationships between equals became closer to patronage by the Roman of an Italian client.[33] The change did not only affect the relative status of the individuals concerned. Rome's dominance in the peninsula increased the degree to which

30 Cic. *Fam.* 318.
31 Cic. *Fam.* 238.
32 Lomas (2012).
33 Lomas (2012, 205).

Rome's internal politics could seriously affect the operation of these networks. To continue to deal successfully with Rome, the Volaterrani would have had to become adept at reading the Roman political tides as well as interpreting thunder.

## Cicero and the Caecinae

Influential patrons at Rome were extremely useful to the Italian communities, but there were also benefits for the Romans concerned. Being able to call on a network of *hospites* and *vicini* not only enhanced a Roman's prestige but had serious practical implications. As the Roman citizenship was extended across Italy, *hospites* were transformed into voters. During his campaign for the consulship, Cicero canvassed extensively outside the city of Rome and called on his friends and supporters from the surrounding districts. There is no direct evidence that the Volaterrani made the long journey to Rome for the consular election in 64. However, on a critical occasion later in his career Cicero had occasion to rely on the votes of *tota Italia*: to secure his recall from exile.

A reference in the *De Domo Sua* strongly suggests that the Volaterrani came to Rome to vote for Cicero's recall in 57.[34] In a passage reminiscent of his remarks in the *Pro Caecina*, Cicero mentions the situation of the Volaterrani and says that, although Sulla was able to take their lands, his action in taking their citizenship was illegal for no one can have citizenship taken against their will. Cicero states that the Volaterrani are now recognised not just as citizens but as *optimi cives*, who enjoy full rights. This reference to the Volaterrani makes sense in part because of Cicero's relationship with the town but the particular reference to their full citizenship and votes would suggest that he is paying his loyal supporters a particular compliment at this point—they had travelled to Rome to vote for him and defend his rights as he had once defended theirs. The Volaterrani were perhaps motivated by more than just loyalty to Cicero when they decided to make the long trip to Rome and vote. The fall of Cicero and his associates from power in Rome represented a serious loss of political capital for the Caecinae and indirectly threatened the town's security. The rapid succession of agrarian proposals and laws during the late Republic meant that the Volaterrani needed champions at Rome to continue the work of defending their land holdings. Travel to Rome would have had to be planned well in advance and, in deciding to undertake the trip, the Volaterrani would have been motivated by the practical advantages of having Cicero back at Rome alongside any personal affection they felt for him. The fact that Cicero was

34 *Cic. Dom.* 79

useful in lobbying Caesar's agents on their behalf in 45 indicates the wisdom of their decision.

The costs of closer ties to the Roman political milieu became clear for the Caecinae when they backed the Republican forces in Rome's civil war. While as first allies and then citizens of Rome, Italy had been providing troops to Rome's armies for centuries, the civil wars required choosing a 'Rome' to support. Ties of *hospitium* now had the potential to bind a community to a Roman political faction with deadly consequences. Perhaps because of their close ties to Cicero, the Caecinae supported the Republicans in the war with Caesar. Remarkably, Volaterrae and even the Caecinae go on to further success during the Augustan period. Our evidence for the activities of the Caecinae during this conflict comes primarily from the letters of Cicero. The *Bellum Africanum* lists a man named Caecina among the Republicans pardoned by Caesar at Utica in 46.[35] Later that year, Cicero wrote a series of letters to a Caecina, with whom he was clearly on close terms, exiled in Sicily. This Caecina, who may be the individual pardoned at Utica, appears to be the son of Cicero's client from 69—Cicero writes of having known his correspondent's father.[36] Three letters to Caecina survive and their length and detail, which includes discussion of Caecina's business interests, strongly suggest a close relationship. Indeed, Cicero mentions the support that he had received from Caecina during his own exile when he encourages him to hope for recall to Italy.[37]

As well as the physical battles between the Republican and Caesarian forces, both sides waged an ideological war by means of pamphlets. As well as participating in the fighting, Caecina had engaged in the war of ideals by publishing an anti-Caesarian pamphlet. In his letter to T. Furfanus Postumus (procos. 45) on Caecina's behalf, Cicero mentions that Caecina had been a dedicated student of oratory from boyhood. Having had the benefit of a Roman education, Caecina had obviously turned his talents to another Roman practice by writing invective. In the only letter to survive from Caecina, he complains that the pamphlet was written as an enemy under arms and that it is unjust of Caesar to continue to refuse to allow him to return to Italy.[38] He subsequently published a retraction and his letter to Cicero mentions a third work, possibly on oratory, which he is struggling to compose for fear of upsetting Caesar further. Caecina emerges from the correspondence as a fairly typical Roman aristocrat. He has concerns about his business interests in Asia and his son, who had remained

35 *Bell. Afr.* 89.5.
36 Cic. *Fam.* 236.
37 Cic. *Fam.* 234.3.
38 Cic. *Fam.* 237.

in Italy and was in regular contact with Cicero. In the first of the extant letters by Cicero, he makes two allusions to Caecina's family heritage. First, he refers to Caecina's expertise in the *discipline Etrusca*, learned from his father.[39] He then expresses the hope that Caecina's illustrious background and prestigious home district will encourage Caesar to be merciful.[40] These remarks do not suggest, however, that Cicero regarded Caecina's Volaterran heritage as making him less Roman.

Cicero was active on his friend's behalf. He reports lobbying Oppius and Balbus directly to ensure that Caecina could remain safely in Sicily and he wrote to Servilius Isauricus and Furfanus Postumus asking them for support.[41] Cicero reminds Isauricus that the Caecinae are clients of his family when writing to him to ask him to intercede with Caesar. The letters do not reveal, however, whether Caecina was able to return to Italy. Suetonius reports that Caesar bore Caecina's *criminosissimus liber … civili animo*, but does not clarify whether this good temper on Caesar's part extended to allowing Caecina to return to Italy.[42]

The final mention of a Caecina in Cicero's correspondence is in late May of 43, in a letter to C. Furnius (tr. pl. 50).[43] In this letter Cicero mentions that a Caecina had been present at a private conference at his house, along with Quintus and a few other close friends. There are three main candidates for this Caecina. It could be the subject of the earlier letters, home from exile. It could be his son, who we know was also close to Cicero or it could be another member of the family. In his letter to Caecina written in December 46, Cicero refers to a friend of Caecina's called Largus, with whom he had been discussing Caecina's predicament.[44] The name Caecina Largus is well attested in imperial times, making it possible that this Largus was a member of the extended family and that he was present at Cicero's home in 43. Like so much from this period, the outcome of Cicero's efforts on behalf of his client and friend remain unknown.

39 Cic. *Fam.* 234.3. Plin. *HN* 11.197 cites a prodigy recorded by a Caecina of Volaterrae, but there is no way of knowing whether it was written by Cicero's correspondent or another member of the family.

40 Cic. *Fam.* 234.8–9.

41 Cic. *Fam.* 235.1 on his representations to Oppius and Balbus; *Fam.* 236 is addressed to Furfanus, then proconsul of Sicily; *Fam.* 238 is addressed to Isauricus and mentions that the Caecinae are clients of the Servilii Isaurici.

42 Suet. *Caesar* 75.

43 Cic. *Fam.* 403.

44 Cic. *Fam.* 235.

## Imperial Success

The death of Cicero and victory of the triumvirs must have represented a setback for Volaterrae and the Caecinae, although this is far from the end of the story. Caecinae continue to be prominent in both Volaterrae and Rome well into the Julio-Claudian period. In a letter to Atticus written in November 44, Cicero mentions that Octavian had sent 'a Caecina of Volaterrae', to him with news of M. Antonius' movements.[45] His tone at this point does not suggest that he was close to the man in question. This Caecina was subsequently sent by Octavian to Antonius in Phoenicia with L. Cocceius and took letters from Antonius back to Octavian.[46] Octavian's Caecina seems to have been a trusted agent, if his presence on this sensitive mission to Antonius is any indicator. He may be the key to understanding the conspicuous success of the *gens Caecina* under the Principate. If Cicero's clients had found themselves stymied by their anti-Caesarian sentiments, another branch of the family may have found success by supporting the younger Caesar. A. Caecina Severus was consul *suffectus* in AD 1, possibly, Wiseman suggests, *suo anno*.[47] He had a distinguished military career and was awarded an honorary triumph for his service under Germanicus on the Rhine frontier.[48] Later, C. Caecina Largus, consul of AD 42, was a friend and confidant of the emperor Claudius and came to own Crassus' mansion on the Palatine.[49]

Nor was Volaterrae left behind. The Caecinae maintained their links to their home community—Pliny records the charming (undated) story of a Caecina of Volaterrae who owned a chariot team and used colour-coded homing swallows to report the outcomes of races in Rome to Volaterrae.[50] More importantly, two members of the family, A. Caecina Severus and C. Caecina Largus dedicated the town's theatre, which has been dated to the Augustan period. In Augustan Italy, a theatre was a source of pride and prestige for a community and they rapidly spread into areas that had not previously had a tradition of stone theatres.[51] An activity such as theatre building can be seen as an indication of cultural homogenisation in Augustan Italy. However, the fact that the Caecinae performed this activity at Volaterrae indicates that there are deeper

45 Cic. *Att.* 418.
46 App. *BC* 5.60.
47 Wiseman (1971, 168).
48 Tac. *Ann.* 1.72.
49 Tac. *Ann.* 11.33; Plin. *HN* 17.5.
50 Pliny *HN* 10.71.
51 Lomas (1998, 72).

continuities running beneath the superficial changes. The Caecinae clearly continued to act as patrons of their hometown. They were no longer required to lobby Roman land commissioners to protect the community's lands, but by the gift of a theatre were able to increase its local prestige.

While Cicero's clients may have suffered during Rome's civil wars, the family itself clearly survived and flourished into the imperial period. Their continued status as leaders of their local community was important to this success at Rome. Augustus, like Cicero before him, was keen to point to his support from *tota Italia* and the name Caecina, representing the leading family of an important town, would have been valuable to him. Claudius' interest in antiquities and Etruscan culture is well attested, and it is plausible that this was part of the reason for his friendship with Caecina, member of a family famous for its knowledge of Etruscan divination.[52] The survival of the Caecinae was intertwined with the survival of Volaterrae. Terrenato notes that, although the city was given Roman colonial status during the Julio-Claudian period, the traditional patterns of wealth and landholding appear to have persisted into the late Roman period.[53] Thus, walking a line between Etruscan and Roman, the Caecinae of Volaterrae were able to exert a degree of control and preserve something of their Etruscan heritage even as they became integrated into the Roman world.

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52 Suet. *Claud.* 42.

53 Terrenato (1998, 108).

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CHAPTER 6

# *Inungi delectus*—The Recruitment of Britons in the Roman Army during the Conquest: The Evidence from Dorset

*Christopher Sparey-Green*

## Introduction

With the annexation of south-east Britain, the establishment of new client kingdoms and the move by Roman forces into the central lowlands, Claudius had followed in the footsteps of Julius Caesar and resolved a century of failed expeditions and inconclusive diplomacy.[1] While only the preliminary to conquest, Claudius had overseen the re-establishment of a Roman presence in the islands beyond the Ocean and the formation of a province which, under his successor, Nero, came to disaster and near abandonment. Thereafter, the campaigning forces moved north and into lowland Scotland, the conquest effectively ending with Domitian's policy in the aftermath of the battle of *Mons Graupius*.

Without elaborating on the progress of these campaigns, this paper will outline evidence for one process in the aftermath of the defeat of the British forces, namely the recruitment and training of the Britons into auxiliary units. As elsewhere in Western Europe, natives were trained as military forces for campaigns out of their home regions. Such a policy not only provided specialist auxiliary troops, such as light infantry or cavalry to complement the legions,

* I am very grateful to Sue Willetts of the Institute of Classical Studies Library for much assistance in background research, to David Gordon for discussing the Maiden Castle War Cemetery and to Andrew Savage of Canterbury Archaeological Trust for the production of the poster at the conference in 2013. Errors, omissions and outlandish ideas remain the responsibility of the author. Individual copyright of images reproduced here remains with the original authors included in the bibliography or referenced in the captions. For the phrase *iniungi delectus* see footnote 10.

1 The conquest of Britain has most recently been described by Todd (2004) and Birley (2008) who both rightly see the process of invasion as spanning the whole period between Caesar and Claudius. Sauer (2005) also contains a detailed discussion of operations in south Britain in the early phases of the later campaign up to the time of the Boudican revolt.

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but was also a more effective means of preventing guerrilla action or revolt and promoting the Romanisation of new territories.[2]

Since the 1950s the Roman campaign in south-west Britain, in the period preceding the Boudican revolt, has been outlined on the basis of the limited historical references in Suetonius and Tacitus, supported by the limited number of inscriptions and the investigation of the archaeological traces of early Roman military activity by Webster.[3] Over the following decades our view of the campaign in the south-west has developed with the recognition of the legionary base at Exeter, the probable half-legion base at Lake Farm near Wimborne in East Dorset and a series of garrison forts elsewhere in the region.[4] Most recently the identification of a presumed defended supply base on the Exe south of Exeter provides a parallel for the evidence from Poole and Corfe Mullen, south of Lake Farm.[5]

The evidence for the recruitment of native Britons from this lowland zone has been discussed before in connection with units operating in northern Britain before transference to the continent.[6] In this paper the few literary references and the limited epigraphic evidence will be summarized, followed by a consideration of the previous discussion of the perceived stylistic links in the character of weaponry, harness, cavalry equipment, and other metalwork found on sites in southern Britain, the northern frontier, and, in one case, on the continent. The major focus here is on early military sites in Dorset and neighbouring areas which, it is suggested, were not simply garrison forts, but also training camps; other archaeological finds may equally reflect this activity.

## The Documentary Evidence

The relationship of the invading forces to the native defenders involved more than the defeat and pacification of tribal peoples. In the aftermath of the

2 For the recruitment of Britons into the army, see Dobson & Mann (1973); on auxiliary forces in Britain (Holder 1982, 109–29) and, most recently, Haynes (2013, 126–7).

3 Webster (1960a).

4 For Exeter see Henderson (1988). The Devon sites are summarized in Griffith (1984) and later issues of the Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society. For Hod Hill see Richmond (1968), for Waddon Hill Webster (1979); for an overview of the early military situation in Dorset see Field (1992).

5 For the former St. Loye's College site see Booth (2011, 384–6). The Lake Gates site unfortunately remains unpublished, but see Field (1992, 32–44). The most recent work at Poole identified Late Iron Age and early Roman occupation and two massive defensive ditches crossing the southern peninsula: Coles & Pine (2009).

6 See note 2.

conflict native warriors would have fallen under the control of not only the front-line legionaries but also auxiliary troops from northern European peoples, some with backgrounds, cultures, and language not dissimilar to their own. The surrender of native leaders to Claudius would have entailed the disbandment of the defeated forces, but, as events in Icenian territory showed, some client kingdoms retained some of their forces, as may have the *rex magnus* in his client kingdom centred on the Chichester area.[7] The disarming of the Icenian tribal army in AD 47 provoked a revolt which pre-figured the more serious Boudican revolt fourteen years later, the term *socialis copias* used for the force storming the Icenian stronghold suggesting the use of native forces at this early date. The troubles faced by Ostorius Scapula in that year possibly extended beyond East Anglia.[8]

Other references may support the recruitment of Britons into some units at an early date. Britons are recorded in Roman units operating in Britain in AD 60, ethnic auxiliary units are present on the continent in AD 69, and they were deployed in campaigns in Scotland in the early 80s.[9] In Agricola's biography Tacitus refers to the Britons submitting readily to the levy, but contrasts this with their disaffection where treated with a heavy hand, the levy being quoted as one cause of the Boudiccan revolt.[10] The discharge of British veterans in the 80s AD suggests the formation of native units by the late 60s AD. Holder identifies three cohorts of Britons in existence prior to the Civil Wars, two cohorts that were raised under Vespasian, an *ala* and six cohorts raised by Agricola, and two more cohorts under Domitian. Several generations later, in the Antonine period, at least ten *numeri* of *Brittones* occur on the Upper German *limes*, perhaps raised from the tribes of southern Scotland. In total there may have been two *alae* and 17 cohorts of British origin, the majority stationed along the German and Danubian frontiers.[11]

The scale of the recruitment under Agricola is noteworthy and the clearest references to British recruitment is in the account of the advance north in AD

7 Manley (2002); Manley & Rudkin (2005), where finds at Fishbourne may indicate the presence of Romanized troops from the pre-conquest period.

8 Tac. *Ann.* 12.31.5; see Webster (1978, 59–60). For the AD 47 revolt see Barrett 1979. The stronghold attacked at the culmination of this revolt was possibly Stonea Camp in Cambridgeshire.

9 Tac. *Agr*. 31.1; 32.1; 32.4; *Hist*. 1.70, 3.41.

10 Tac. *Agr.* 13.1; 15.3; *iniungi dilectus* in the latter reference is translated as 'impose conscription' by Birley 1999. Some editions, principally Church & Brodribb (1958), follow Vatican mss in reading *iniungi delectus*.

11 See note 3; Cheesman (1914, 84–6, 170–1). The presence of brooches of British type has been seen as evidence for Britons on the Lower Rhine, see Ivleva (2012). Five units of Britons were involved in Trajan's Dacian campaigns, Piso (2008).

84 towards *Mons Graupius*, where it is recorded that Agricola 'had included the bravest of the Britons and those of proven loyalty' in his forces.[12] The reference to *expedito exercitu* suggests units of lightly armed infantry or native cavalry. The presence of these Britons in the Roman ranks, supporting the Batavian and Tungrian auxiliaries, is one of the grievances ascribed to Calgacus in his pre-battle polemic.[13]

The process of recruitment in Northern Britain is illustrated by an inscription (CIL XI 5213) from Northern Italy which records a *censitor Brittonum Anavionensium* who, in the early second century AD, was recruiting men from the Annandale area of south-west Scotland for the *numeri Brittonum*, later transferred to Germany. A tablet from Vindolanda (164) records the fighting methods of the *Brittunculi*, a comment by the Batavian or Tungrian units training British recruits rather than a comment on enemy tactics.[14]

### Archaeological Evidence from Southern Britain and the Northern Frontier

Turning to the archaeological evidence for early native recruitment, a range of metalwork finds in northern Britain and southern Scotland has been recognised as possibly 'trace finds' for native recruits. Discussion here will be limited to certain categories of copper alloy equipment and iron weaponry showing typological links between southern Britain and the highlands.[15] The northern finds derive from military sites such as the Roman fort at Newstead and from native settlements and metalwork hoards in the vicinity (Figure 6.1). The forts were often multi-phase, rebuilt with changes of unit or following changes in strategy. The southern finds derive, in particular, from the excavation of Roman forts in Dorset and past casual finds, now increasingly supplemented by finds over a wider area reported under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (Figure 6.2). The finds are variously described as the result of demolition of fort buildings or the deliberate placing of deposits with ritual connotations but many of the small fittings from swords and scabbards may have been lost or discarded during repair work.[16]

12 Tac. *Agr*. 29.2: *expedito exercitu cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat*. See Scott (1976, 34). As Scott suggests the reference would be to distinct British units.

13 Tac. *Agr*. 32.1.

14 Birley (2001, 20–21); Bowman & Thomas (1994, no. 164); Birley (2002, 94–5).

15 Most recently Hingley (2006); Wilson (2010).

16 Scott (1976, 35–6); Hingley (2006).

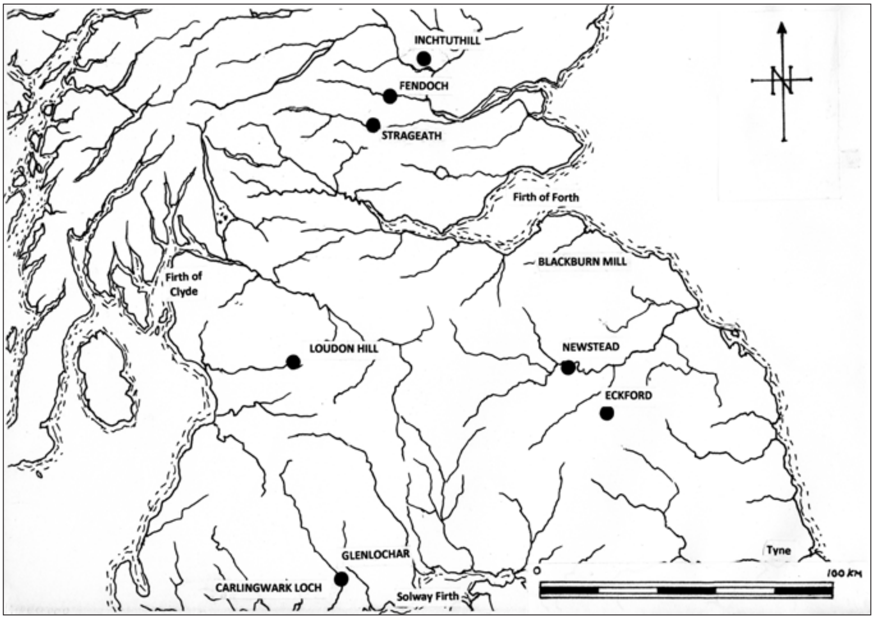


FIGURE 6.1 *Plan of the centre of northern Britain indicating places referred to in the text.* REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF ORDNANCE SURVEY ON BEHALF OF HMSO. COPYRIGHT RESERVED. © ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Over fifty years ago it was noted that some classes of native equipment unexpectedly occurred in both the south and in the northern frontier areas.[17] Clearly, standard Roman equipment was likely to be common in both areas and to recur from site to site but amongst the material from forts and from hoard sites at Carlingwark Loch, close to the fort of Glenlochar, and from Loudon Hill, Blackburn Mill, Eckford, and Dowalton Loch, there are native-type metal fittings with parallels at early Roman military sites in the south-west of Britain. Piggott saw this as evidence for the movement of metal workers or refugees at the time of the Roman conquest, or of a forcible movement of population northwards following the advance.[18] In the latter case, however, the movement of the equipment with their owners, in newly recruited British units, would provide a more likely explanation.

Significant artefacts include the metal fittings from swords, scabbards and horse equipment. With regard to swords, Piggott identified particular patterns

17 Piggott (1950; 1955); Fox (1958). For central-southern Scotland see Wilson (2010).

18 Piggott (1955, 16–19); Macgregor (1976, 83); and Harding (2004, 174–6) also saw the northern distribution as the result of Durotrigian refugees from Roman invasion.

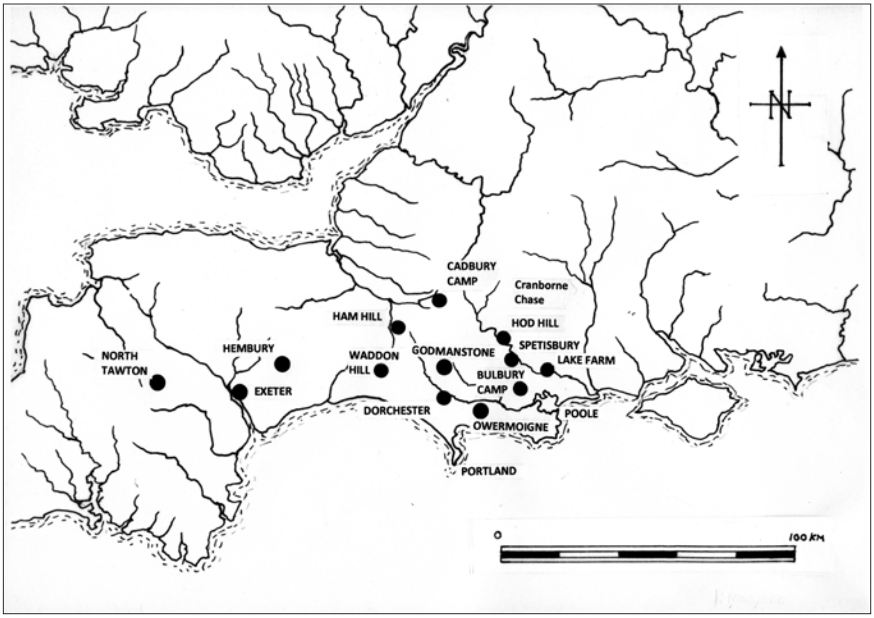


FIGURE 6.2 *Plan showing location of sites in Central Southern Britain cited in the text.*
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of hilt guard (Types IVa and IVB) found at the northern sites, which also occurred at the Roman forts at Hod Hill and Waddon Hill in Dorset and in the metalwork from Bulbury Camp, near Poole, Dorset (Figure 6.3).[19] Further examples of this type of sword fitting have now been recorded from the first century fort at Roecliffe, North Yorkshire and, in southern Britain, from Cranleigh, Surrey.[20] With scabbard fittings, a distinctive round-ended chape can be recognized in contexts of the Flavian to Antonine periods at Newstead and Strageath, parallels occurring, at an earlier date, at Hod Hill, the nearby native settlement of Gussage All Saints and also in the gateway destruction

19 Webster (1960b, fig. 8, no. 38; 1979, fig. 30, 57); Brailsford (1962, fig. 1, A5); Cunliffe (1972, 298, fig. 3, 7). Webster points out parallels with the latter at both Newstead and Fendoch. Such sword fittings and other harness pieces from North Britain have been reviewed in Macgregor (1976). The distribution of group IV swords and scabbards is illustrated in Harding (2004, fig 6.9.3).

20 Bishop (2005, 183, fig. 27, 7); Worrell & Pearce (2013). Bishop (2005, 219) saw finds from the extra-mural area as showing 'a native presence in the Roman army, possibly in the form of friendly native levies'. The context of the Surrey find is as yet uncertain.

FIGURE 6.3
*A complete sword hilt with Piggott Type* IVB *'Crown' type guard and other fittings, from Hod Hill, Dorset* (scale: approx. 2/3). REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

levels at Cadbury Camp, Somerset. [21] Although assumed to derive from the scabbards of the *spatha*, they would also suit scabbards for round-ended sword blades of the type from the warrior burial at Whitcombe, Dorset.[22] Such weapons, however, were in wide use on both sides since the account of the battle tactics of the North Britons at *Mons Graupius* includes reference to their use by the opposing force.[23]

Amongst metal harness fittings, horse bits of the simple bar-type with copper-alloy fittings from Ham Hill and Hod Hill are similar in general form to the all-iron type at Newstead. Comparison of terrets from northern sites with those from the native settlement of Hod Hill and with those manufactured

21 Newstead: Curle (1911, 187, pl. XXXV, 15–18); Strageath: Frere & Wilkes (1989, 142, fig. 71, 25–6); Hod Hill: Richmond (1968, 39–40, fig. 31, encl. 36 and fig. 57, 25); Gussage: Wainwright (1979, 111, fig. 86, 3000); Cadbury Camp: Foster (2000), 143, fig. 70, 1. At Hod Hill the chapes occurred in both the Iron Age area and the Roman fort. See fig. 6.8.

22 For Whitcombe see below, note 40.

23 Tac. *Agr*. 36, 1.

nearby at Gussage All Saints raise issues as to the longevity of these fittings, the use of which on chariots presumably ended with the defeat of tribal armies. At Gussage three styles of terret were being produced in the first century BC, the plain type occurring at native sites in Scotland, the plain and decorated forms present at Newstead in the late first or second century.[24] Amongst personal ornaments, the distinctive copper alloy neck torcs of the Wraxall type from south-western Britain, presumably a poorer, if highly decorated, equivalent of the gold torcs of the Iceni, have been cited as evidence for links between the regions, with recent finds from Cornwall and Wales and others from sites in the north, as at Stichill, Roxburghshire.[25] An example occurred in an early Roman grave at Dorchester, Dorset (see below and Figure 6.6).

### Archaeological Evidence in the Dorset Area

Apart from these possible links in metalwork typology between southern Britain and the north, the character of some sites in Dorset and the finds from them is noteworthy for their possible military associations. These sites lie in the territory of the Durotriges and their chief place, Ptolemy's *Dunium*, presumably one of the strongly defended hill forts in the area.[26]

The Roman town of Dorchester (*Durnovaria*) has been thought to conceal a fort of the invasion period in its early levels (Figure 6.4). A reappraisal of the evidence for the earliest phases, however, suggests activity in the Claudio-Neronian period, the majority of the samian ware recovered from a range of sites within the centre of the town falling late in that period rather than in the immediate post-conquest period.[27] Definite traces of defences or extensive remains of Roman military-style buildings have yet to be identified in the settlement core; in their absence, any fort must be sought nearby.[28] The road

24 Wilson (2010, fig. 21, NR/CAH/14 and fig. 23 NS/TOR/7); Curle (1911, pl. LXXV, 2).

25 Megaw (1971); Harding (2004, 176–7); Nowakowski *et al.* (2009).

26 Papworth (2008). Hod Hill has been recently preferred as *Dunium* but Maiden Castle is still a possibility and the coastal trading site at Hengistbury Head should also be considered.

27 Webster (1965, 109); Woodward (1993, 359) and unpublished data. I am grateful to Joanna Bird, Geoff Dannell, and the late Brian Hartley for examining much samian recovered from Dorchester building sites in the 1960s-1980s, the majority as yet unpublished; see Sparey-Green (forthcoming). References here are to site entries in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Dorset, Volume 2, South-East, part 3, 1970.*

28 The situation might be compared with Exeter, where the legionary base was only recognized in the early 1970s, and also possibly London, where early military defences have only recently been identified.

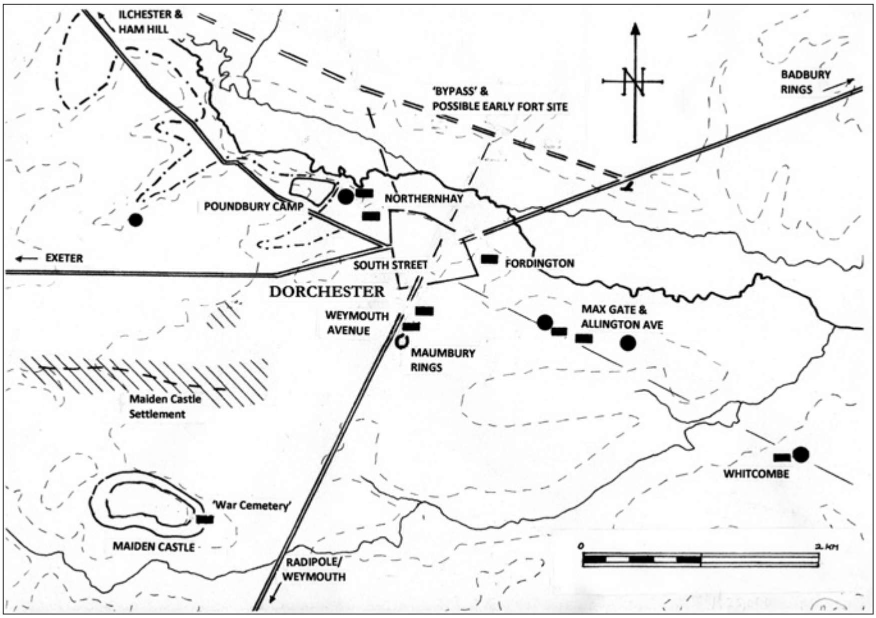


FIGURE 6.4 *Plan of Dorchester area with significant sites highlighted.*
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alignments and topography might suggest a location north of the Frome valley, the town developing from the *canabae* or *vicus* on the southern Approach Road 2 from the coast.[29] This road is adjoined by the early amphitheatre at Maumbury Rings while, elsewhere around the early settlement, cemeteries of the native, Durotrigan type and other casual finds suggest the presence of early, high-status burials of a more Roman character.[30]

Maumbury Rings is a rare conversion of a third millennium BC henge into an arena of Roman pattern and early date (Figure 6.5). The form of the latter was dictated by the pre-existing earthwork but the eventual arena seems oversize for the later 37ha walled area and saw little use during the town's civil phase. Iron Age and Claudian coin copies, early samian and native pottery date its first use prior to any civil development, metal work finds including

29 A site north of the river, at the junction of the projected Southern Approach Road 2 with the 'Bypass' road, is possible but as yet untested. For the road system see *RCHM Dorset 2 SE*, plan 532, 539–42.

30 The Durotrigan burial rite has recently been discussed by Papworth (2008) and by Valentin (2003, 45–6).

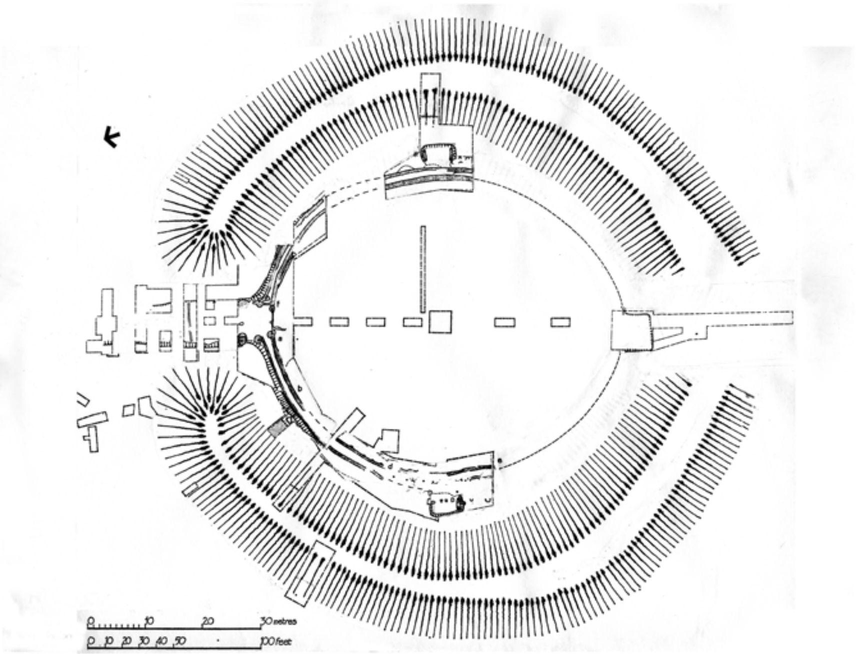


FIGURE 6.5 *Plan of Maumbury Rings earthworks with the earliest phase of Roman timber structure overlaid and the seventeenth-century additions removed.*
REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

weapons and military period brooches.[31] The earliest structure is a utilitarian one of timber, inserted into the pre-existing earthwork, the henge interior lowered, the spoil used to raise the bank. The arena floor was covered in a shelly gravel, unlike the normal heathland sand used in the later town buildings.[32] There are two chambers on either side of the arena and one at the south end, the access, unusually for an amphitheatre, being the original prehistoric north-east entrance. There was little later refinement of the structure and no re-building in stone, suggesting only a limited use thereafter. This history could then suggest an early and solely military use as a training ground rather than a structure for the entertaining of the elusive Roman garrison.

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31 *RCHM Dorset 2 SE*, monument 228, 589–92; Bradley 1976. For finds see Bradley (1976, 63–70) and St George Grey (1914, 18–21, fig 3). One sherd is from a local copy of an early Roman flagon, paralleled in the Poundbury Camp Durotrigan Cemetery and the Roman forts at Waddon Hill and Hod Hill.

32 Analysis reported in St George Grey (1908, 263).

Two groups of early burials should be highlighted, the first nearby, adjoining the Southern Approach Road in the section between Maumbury and the early settlement core (Figure 6.6). The second group comprises a series of sites extending along a south-eastern approach from the Purbeck area, this route passing through Fordington, Alington Avenue and Whitcombe, south-east of Dorchester. In addition, Maiden Castle to the south-west has produced the much debated 'War Cemetery' which, although producing few weapons from the graves, does contain casualties of violence from this early period. The area north-west of the early core has also yielded Durotrigan cemeteries at Northernhay and the Poundbury Camp settlement but without evidence of weaponry or battle casualties.[33]

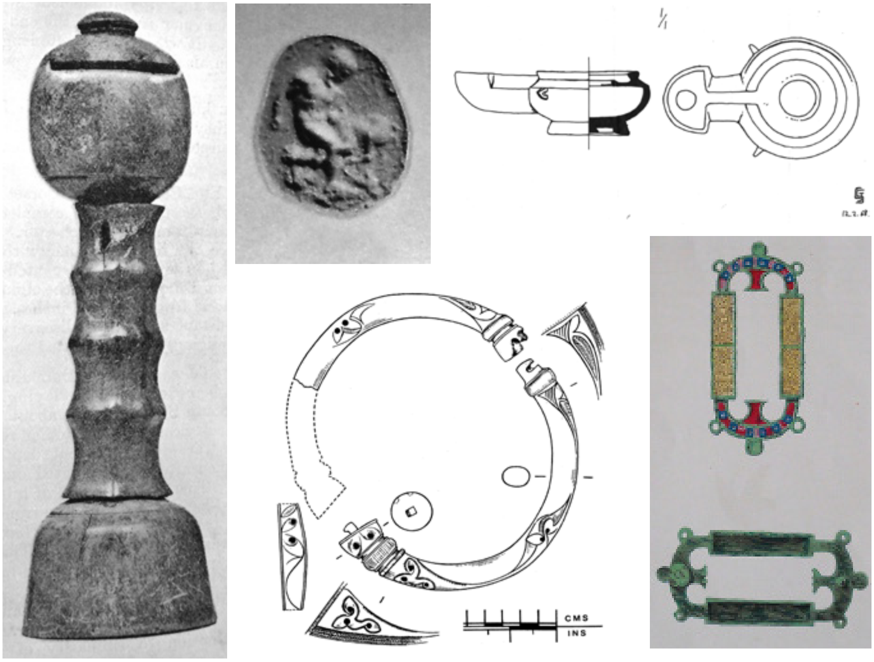


FIGURE 6.6 *Finds from sites on the Southern Approach Road and its projected line into Dorchester.* Copper alloy lamp (author's illustration) and enameled belt plate (REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DORSET NATURAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY) from Weymouth Avenue. *Gladius* hilt and *intaglio* from South Street (REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON; intaglio from Henig 1974). Copper Alloy neck ring from Northernhay, Dorchester (REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM) (scale: lamp and neck ring 1/4; hilt and belt plate 1/2; *intaglio* 2/1).

33 Farwell & Molleson (1993, 103–4). The 52 graves forming the writer's Cemeteries 1A and 1B are the largest known cemetery of this type.

Sites along the line of the Southern Approach Road suggest a series of early burials over the 500m from Maumbury to the settlement core, some recorded as crouched burials of Durotrigan type with native and early Romanised wares and early metal-work, others assumed from the discovery of unusual early metalwork close to the road alignment. Notable amongst the casual finds is an enamelled military belt fitting and an early copper alloy bronze lamp from either side of the Weymouth Avenue.[34] In neither case is the context of the find fully recorded. To the north-east, within the later urban area, a complete *gladius* hilt, associated with an iron finger ring with intaglio of Hercules and Cerberus, is unlikely to be a casual loss and is either a ritual deposit or stems from an early grave of a military character.[35] On the north-west margins of the settlement but close to the Durotrigan cemetery below Poundbury Camp, a burial with a Wraxall type copper alloy torc was recorded.[36]

On the potential approach road from the Isle of Purbeck, the prominent hilltop of Fordington, now occupied by St George's Church, has produced a horse burial with a snaffle bit and copper alloy rings of native type (Figure 6.7). Reused in the church was the inscription from a high-status monument to Carinus and his family, the lettering stylistically dated to the first or second century AD.[37] In the same area a cremation burial was accompanied by an antler phallic amulet of a type from military sites including Newstead.[38]

On the next hill to the southeast, in an area of Late Iron Age settlement and earthworks, a widely-scattered group of Durotrigan burials included a group recorded in exemplary fashion by Thomas Hardy during the construction of Max Gate in 1884.[39] The three graves were notable for the range of native and Romanised finds, one grave containing an early Roman 'Corfe Mullen ware' flagon, native copies of samian and brooches of Hod Hill type. This grave may

34 Partially recorded as *RCHM Dorset 2 SE* monument 211, 570 and monument 220, 580–1. The belt fitting, Buckman (1878), is exemplified at Newstead, Curle (1911, 329, fig 48). A fragment from Bainbridge fort might derive from early phases, Bidwell (2012, 96, fig 24,4. The lamp is unpublished but is similar to one from Hod Hill, Brailsford (1962, 15, fig. 14, I2).

35 The unusually complete sword hilt, lacking blade, scabbard or reference to interment, suggests partial recovery, perhaps from an unrecognised cremation, Acland (1906); Henig (1974, 436).

36 Megaw (1971); Farwell & Molleson (1993), 6–13.

37 RCHM *Dorset 2 SE*, monument 216a, b and d, pl. 230. There was possibly more than one horse; other records of weapon burials lack corroborative detail. The prominent mention of citizenship on the inscription invites the suggestion that he was a discharged veteran, returned to his home area, although the name is not obviously native.

38 Greep (1994, fig. 1, type 6 amulet, pl IVd. and e).

39 Davies *et al.* (2002); Hardy (1890); RCHM *Dorset 2 SE*, monument 218a, c and d. See p. 129 below for the contemporary account in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

FIGURE 6.7 *Finds from Roman cemeteries at Fordington and at Max Gate.* Copper alloy snaffle-bit and harness rings (scale: approx. 1/4; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF ENGLISH HERITAGE) and inscription from Fordington (scale approx. 1/16; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DORSET NATURAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY). The three interlinked brooches (? a symbolic bridle-bit) and pottery vessels from the Max Gate burials (scale: brooches approx. 1/2, pottery 1/8; © CROWN COPYRIGHT. EH.).

also have contained an iron spear head while mention of a horse skeleton nearby recalls the Fordington burial.

Two kilometres to the south-east, the Whitcombe settlement included a warrior burial amongst a group of Durotrigan burials of the mid or late first century AD, this grave of a man accompanied by a sword, spear, harness fittings, and tools for the care of the weapon or for metal working (Figure 6.8).[40] This burial was accompanied by a brooch of the early to mid first century AD while others in the group were accompanied by native vessels or, in one case, Flavian samian. A relief of an armed horseman found close to an adjacent building and paved area is probably that of a Roman 'Rider-God' set up at a

40 Aitken & Aitken (1990); Stead (1990). The sword has a round-ended blade suited to the rounded chapes highlighted above. Stead notes parallels for the scabbard fittings and baldric ring with finds from Hod Hill and further afield.

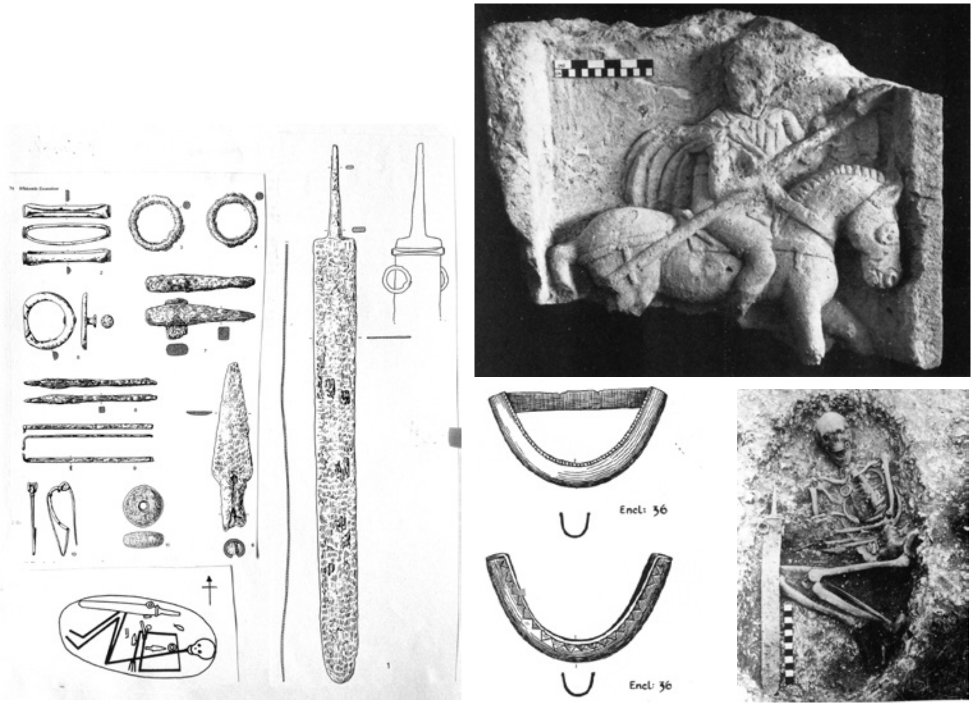


FIGURE 6.8 *The Rider Relief and burial of the 'Whitcombe Warrior'.* Rider God relief from Whitcombe, Dorset (scale approx. 1/10; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF ENGLISH HERITAGE). Whitcombe warrior grave and gravegoods (scale approx. 1/10; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DORSET NATURAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY). The two scabbard chapes from Hod Hill would have suited a Whitcombe type sword (scale approx. 1/4; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

temple site rather than a fragment of an auxiliary cavalryman's tombstone and suggests the existence of a later warrior cult on the site.[41]

Lastly, the Maiden Castle 'War Cemetery' remains the most famous Durotrigan cemetery, which despite attempts at re-interpretation is still likely to have resulted from Roman military activity at an early stage of conquest or pacification.[42] The cemetery was situated where those entering the east

41 As Henig (1990) points out, the bearded figure should be dated to the second century or later, the rider's stance unlike most depictions on auxiliary funerary monuments.

42 Wheeler (1943, 61–64, 118–20); Sparey-Green (2006) *contra* Sharples (1991b, 124–5); the weapon injuries have most recently been assessed by Redfern (2011) and Redfern & Chamberlain (2011). The knife, ear scoop, and axe blade (or razor ?) from grave P22 also need to be considered; as Wheeler noted (278–81, fig. 92, 6–8), the ear scoop is of Roman type.

gate of the still-occupied camp would be reminded of their dead. The uniform character and grouping of the thirty-four graves suggested a single event, as Wheeler concluded, the grave goods notable for their relative simplicity and consistent form, without the presence of elite items such as mirrors, Roman vessels or their imitations.[43] The multiple injuries to the head at Maiden Castle also suggest the defacement of the dead; in one case cuts were made to a skull already penetrated by a projectile; this individual had already suffered a debilitating or fatal injury and hardly deserved further assault.

Of a different nature are two finds from either side of Dorchester, one a coin hoard, the other an inscribed altar. The first, a recent find from Owermoigne, 6km to the east, was a presumably dispersed hoard of coin, noteworthy because it contained types current in the mid-first century AD, mostly Claudian bronze, but also republican silver and Durotrigan bronze.[44] The range of coinage could be the sort of mixed purse accumulated by someone involved in the new economy, whether as recruit or trader. The second, older find, is an altar to Jupiter from Godmanstone, in the Cerne valley north of Dorchester, a dedication of an early form made by a centurion of a unit other than the Second Augusta Legion, known to have operated in the area.[45]

Elsewhere in Dorset sites on Cranborne Chase deserve mention, the most important being Hod Hill (Fig 6.9). This has usually been seen as the re-use of a native earthwork by a Roman garrison, once the inhabitants had been expelled.[46] A recent geophysical survey by Stewart, however, shows new detail, suggesting a more complex occupation, the zoning of the interior and the existence of previously unrecognized features.[47] The Roman fort is clearly recognisable, occupying the highest, north-western quarter of the interior, set up in

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43 The remarkable uniformity of the Durotrigan drinking bowls suggests a common origin and date for the burials. This contrasts with the presence of much early samian from the Wheeler excavations of the eastern settlement area, Todd (1985, 197). The absence of native imitations of Roman wares contrasts with the Poundbury Camp cemetery 1, the Max Gate cemetery and most others of this type: *RCHM Dorset 2 SE*, monument 218d, 575–8.

44 *British Archaeology*, November–December 2013, 13.

45 RIB 3047. The reading V[IIII] is possible, this legion also attested at Hayling Island, near Chichester but V[III] is also possible. This stone may have originated from Dorchester or even been a dedication at a cult site at Cerne Abbas below the hill figure of Hercules. The famous chalk-cut figure, if early, recalls the finger ring from Dorchester and the phallic amulet from the Fordington burial (see note 35 and 38).

46 Richmond (1968, 33, 121).

47 Papworth (2008, 212–218, figs 120–124, 130); Stewart (2008, esp. fig 2). Not all features are necessarily of the late Iron Age or early Roman period. The apparent rectangular features near the centre are of great interest in view of early post-Roman finds from the interior

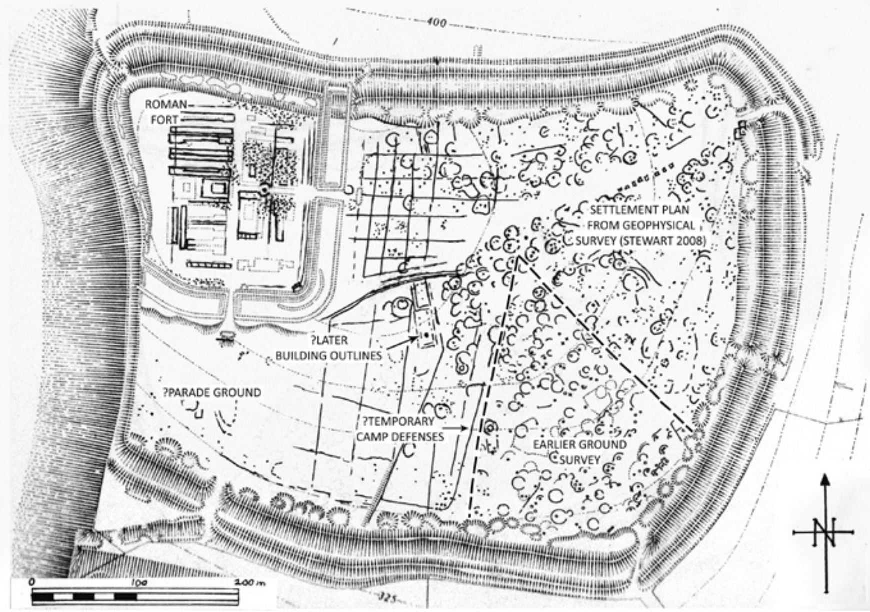


FIGURE 6.9 *Plan of Hod Hill with previously recorded internal features shown here with the addition of details from the geophysical survey* (*Stewart 2008*).
BASE PLAN REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

ground apparently never densely occupied. Over the remainder of the 22.3 ha interior, the pattern of tracks, hut circles, enclosures and pits is concentrated in the eastern and more sheltered half, leaving the lower south-western quadrant largely empty. Within the central zone east of the fort defences a grid of linear ditches (?) might be a later system of strip fields but they do not align with the known pattern of post-medieval field boundaries.[48] This pattern may also be contained by a linear feature, distinct from any more recent field boundaries, within and parallel to the hill fort's south rampart and internal quarries. This presumed ditch then describes a curve at the south-east to cross the interior before becoming obscured by hut circles. In the south-west hill fort interior, the contour survey shows a scarp immediately outside the fort ditch system while preserving the prominent mound of the southern *tutulus*, the area outside seemingly empty other than for traces of levelled hut platforms.[49] This

(Richmond 1968, 40, knife from Hut 60; buckle, Plate 39A; also spear head Plate 42 and buckle fragment Plate 43A).

48 The survey suggests both hut circles and the *tutulus* of the eastern gate overlie this pattern.

49 Richmond (1968), fig. 3; Stewart (2008), fig. 7.

area could have been terraced as a parade ground, overseen from the platforms on the southern rampart and the *tutulus* mound. This area is accessed by the hill fort's south gate.

Stewart's survey shows at least two roadways radiating from the north-eastern Steepleton gate, a line of four-post structures visible in the angle between them. The more northerly route leads, significantly, to an irregular open area outside the fort's east gate, the other leads south-west to the putative parade ground.[50] The eastern Ashfield gate does not connect with any road system but gave access to the south-eastern hut complex, the excavated interiors here producing not only Iron Age material but Roman pottery, harness fittings and weapons.[51] The presence of ballista bolts in two of the larger enclosed huts here was seen by Richmond as indicating significant occupants targeted from beyond the defences in an initial attack, although how such targets could have been acquired is difficult to conceive.

The chalk downs of Cranborne Chase to the east have produced extensive Late Iron Age settlements which, while not of a military character are distinguished by the evidence for the rearing and care of horses (Figure 6.10). Two linked oval enclosures on Launceston Down and Thickthorne Down, north-east of Blandford, each up to a kilometre in diameter, were unusual for the slight surrounding earthworks; while the former overlay levelled field systems the less clearly-defined Thickthorne enclosure focussed on the headwaters of the Brook valley.[52] The early Roman road heading north from the Poole base via the Lake Gates fort to the Fosse Way at Bath passes on the west. The Gussage All Saints settlement, 5km to the east, produced debris from the production of horse-harness in the first century BC, horse well represented amongst the animal bone from the site, the maturity of the animals suggesting their periodic rounding up from the wild.[53] To the north, the Tollard Royal settlement of the early to mid first century AD produced a high proportion of horse bones and a horse burial in the enclosing ditch while an early Roman enclosure ditch at Minchington contained placed deposits of horse bones.[54]

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50 Papworth (2011, 114).

51 Richmond (1968, 19–25 and 91) saw it as a Roman access to a derelict interior, used as a training area, Boyd Dawkins (1900, 54) presumed it to be post-Roman.

52 Bowen (1990, 47–51, Area Plan 2).

53 Spratling (1979); Harcourt (1979, 158).

54 Wainwright (1968, 108, 146); Sparey-Green (2007, 56). In the late Iron Age settlement at Poundbury two horse skulls had been set in the top of a pit, Sparey-Green (1987, Mf. 1, G1, p. 5).

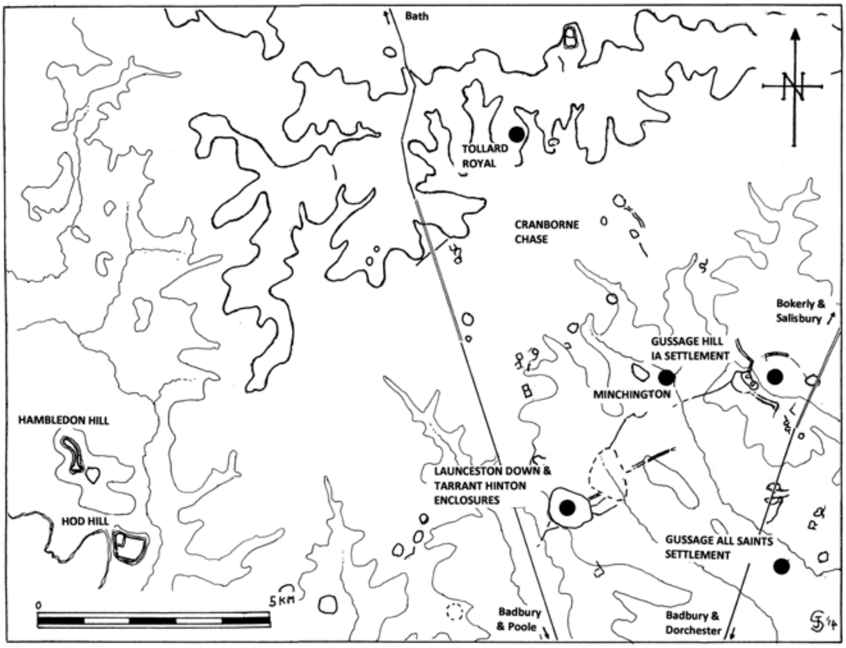


FIGURE 6.10 *Cranborne Chase showing the major hillforts, settlement enclosures, dyke systems and the two Roman roads.*
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## Recruitment of Natives into the Roman Army

The interpretation of the disparate archaeological data and the limited documentary sources proposed here must remain open. Other than Waddon Hill and Hod Hill, early Roman sites in this area are still poorly understood and only limited new research has been undertaken in recent decades.[55] But the data suggests more than simply a tale of campaigning and garrisoning in the context of the interaction of native and invader and Romanisation by social contact, trade or coercion.[56]

55 The results from Exeter and other Devon sites show up the situation in Dorset, Lake Farm remaining unpublished and my own observations at Dorchester awaiting publication. Papworth (2008) provides a valuable overview of the Durotriges but a new survey of the early Roman period developing on the pioneering work of Webster, Richmond, and Field is needed. The most recent summary of the western campaign is Hoffman (2013, 86–7).

56 For the early stages of invasion see most recently Hind (2007), Birley (2008) and Hoffman (2013).

The disarmament of supportive tribes such as the Iceni in AD 47 sparked revolt and may have triggered the transformation of such native forces into auxiliary units, where tribesmen were most amenable to Roman training. This is most likely in the stable south and south-east zones but elsewhere more irregular units might have been formed by levy. The south-western zone has always been seen as a frontier zone, heavily garrisoned and the population strictly controlled in the decades after the conquest. Subject peoples here could have been enslaved or set to forced labour, perhaps for the development of the lead/silver mines of the Mendips or the Purbeck quarries producing marble for early inscriptions.[57] The earliest lead ingots from the Mendips, dated to 49 AD, with inscriptions to the Second Augusta Legion, would have been produced in the immediate aftermath of the Icenian revolt. Road building and works such as the Dorchester aqueduct would also have absorbed unskilled labour in an operation with fewer security issues.[58] But an alternative way of controlling the native fighting men would have been by training as auxiliaries, the tribal army an asset, albeit with the risk of revolt if the process was badly handled, as happened in the great Illyrian revolt.[59] The known early forts in Dorset and Devon could have encompassed this period and overseen the process.[60]

For the Dorchester area, Maumbury Rings is a crucial site in the absence of definite traces of a nearby Roman garrison fort. From the second century BC there had been a link between Roman military training and gladiatorial combat both as weapons training and as a means of 'hardening' spectator recruits, the form of the prehistoric henge making it ideal for adaptation to military exercises.[61] The conversion of an ancient cult site as an arena has been seen as a rare phenomenon but at Newton Kyme, North Yorkshire, a fort and settlement complex adjoins a henge, suggesting that ancient earthwork could also have co-existed and adapted as an arena.[62] Nearer to Dorset, the small amphitheatre at the Charterhouse-in-Mendip mining settlement has also now been seen as of military use and adapted in the same manner from an earlier earthwork.[63] The use of amphitheatres for military use has been questioned but the

57 For Mendip lead mining see Todd (1996).

58 For the aqueduct, Putnam (1998); Sparey-Green (2013).

59 Suetonius *Div. Augustus*, 24.1–25.2; Tiberius 21.5 & 16.

60 Todd (2007, 116–7), saw the Devon forts as continuing into the sixties or early seventies AD and the Tiverton fort is seen as still occupied in the eighties, Maxfield (1991, 56–7).

61 Welch (2007, 79–82).

62 Boutwood (1996, 340, fig. 7). A survey of reused ritual sites does not cover the issue of henges adapted for Roman use, Hutton (2011).

63 Fradley (2009, 110–14).

Baginton *gyrus* would appear to be an example of a small timber arena with single entrance actually within a fort defence. The early phase at Silchester might be comparable but, unlike Dorchester, it later saw some adaptation and refinement for use in public entertainment.[64] The Godmanstone inscription may indicate the presence of an officer on detachment, assisting the Second Augusta in the training of local recruits.[65]

As to the recruits themselves, much has been made here of the Durotrigan burials, the largest number of which, significantly, occur in the Dorchester area and on the coastline to the south. This style of burial has been seen as purely native but the number of graves containing Roman pottery, native copies of Roman vessels and foreign-sourced metal vessels suggests a post-Conquest date for many or most of them, the families aspiring to Roman burial styles. The copying of Roman vessels in native fabric reflects a desire for goods largely unobtainable or beyond the reach of most. Other casual finds highlighted here may be evidence for high-status burials with a Roman military aspect. The tantalizing record of horse burials in Fordington and possibly at Max Gate would appear native in character, but the cremation with phallic medallion and the South Street sword hilt and intaglio would belong more to a Roman tradition.[66] Although not closely dated the Whitcombe Warrior was part of a cemetery extending beyond the conquest when such weaponry would have been outlawed unless held by a member of a recognised force. The sword is compatible with scabbard chapes in Roman forts both local and in the North, showing the use of such weaponry beyond the conquest. The occurrence of the Rider God sculpture on the same site may hint at a local hero cult reflected in the adjacent Cole Hill Wood, a place-name associated elsewhere with temples; a cult site, similar to the temple/burial at Folly Lane, St Albans, could have existed here. The Maiden Castle 'War Cemetery' is notable for the uniformity and native character of the grave goods, suggesting contemporary burial of a larger group than in other such cemeteries. These were persons of status who died within a short space of time and accorded hasty burial, but with ceremony.

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64 Hobley (1973). Fulford (1989, 187). Bateman (1997, 75) sees the Baginton *gyrus* as unique, its purpose uncertain. The strange, partial amphitheatre at Inveresk should now be borne in mind, Neighbour (2007).

65 Birley (2008, 186) proposes that, amongst other vexillations, elements of VIII Augusta were present, this number compatible with the inscription.

66 Burials with weapons are recognised later at northern sites such as Camelon and Brougham, Breeze *et al.* (1976) and Cool (2004).

The issue of the re-use of hill forts in a post-conquest context has previously been addressed by Todd and Maxfield.[67] As outlined there, a range of possibilities exist, from re-use of native defences by a regular Roman garrison or works-depot, to use by native levies in course of training, as recently with American and British forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some smaller forts such as Hembury, Devon and Chalbury, Dorset have produced evidence for a Roman military presence, but not on the scale to allow such a dual presence. Maiden Castle itself has been suggested to have had a Roman garrison, but the weaponry may result from attack and the slight building remains are unconvincing.[68] At Dorchester a Roman base is still unidentified but Poundbury Camp, on the basis of its size, tactical position and suitably rectangular shape would have been attractive for re-use by at least one unit. The main east entrance appears to have been re-configured along Roman lines similar to that created in the conversion of Brandon Camp, Herefordshire. At an early date thereafter, Poundbury's defences on the sides overlooking the valley and the eastern combe, were re-cut for an aqueduct channel, the enclosure possibly serving then as a construction camp and, perhaps, the base for native levies under training.[69]

The Hod Hill fort has long been recognised as holding a garrison but the recent survey questions whether this was in isolation. The interior use may be multi-phase and, with the limited investigation of the 'native' area, does not preclude the continued use of hut circles into the post-conquest period. The pre-conquest occupation was followed by a possible Roman temporary camp in the western half, represented by the grid pattern (a ditch system dividing groups of tents?) in the upper central area, this enclosed by linear boundaries / token defences on south and east. The permanent fort in the north-west replaced this, an enlarged area of huts occupying the eastern half, the area downhill of the fort serving as a parade ground. The garrison co-existed with a native settlement of recruits and oversaw their training for enrolment into Roman forces, its classic defences serving as an exemplar.[70] Raised structures

67 Todd (1985); Maxfield (1989, 25–6).

68 Todd (1984) suggested Maiden Castle as holding a garrison, but the geophysical survey shows no clear Roman military presence and the excavated structure is unsuitably positioned on the degraded original west rampart (Sharples, 1991a, fig. 30 and p. 101, fig. 99). There are between 15 and 20 ballista heads of various types from the site, including the example from the War Cemetery.

69 For Poundbury Camp see Richardson (1940) and Sparey-Green (1987, 148). Finds from the interior test pits including a degraded Claudian coin. The southern entrance would mirror Hod Hill's Ashfield gate; a harness mount from a destruction level in the extramural settlement is also of a military type (*ibid.* 98, fig. 68, 10). For Brandon see Frere (1987).

70 Maxfield (1989, 25) points out the potential co-existence of Roman and native occupation.

on the south side could have been tribunals for reviewing infantry parades and the exercises in horsemanship expected of cavalry.[71] Roman finds within the hut camp are then losses by the recruits rather than scattered debris from the fort. A sequence of camp and fort would recall the phased defences at North Tawton, Devon.[72]

This raises the issue of the vast enclosure of Ham Hill near Ilchester, Somerset, where the Roman military presence could have co-existed with the extensive native occupation visible on recent survey. The form of Ham Hill, with its impregnable northern spur and larger southern enclosure, was ideally suited for dual occupation, the northern spur having produced large quantities of Roman military equipment similar to that from Hod Hill and Waddon Hill. Roman forces could have held the 12ha spur, the approximate 77ha of the main plateau providing space for continuing native settlement, exercise, and training areas.[73] Cadbury Camp has produced evidence of Roman-style barracks and the grisly remains of slaughter in the gateway at some time after the initial conquest.[74] Within this wider pattern variations can be seen between battle sites, simple garrisons and potential training camps.

Throughout the area the significance of horses should be noted, highlighted by the finds from Cranborne Chase and the burials at Dorchester. The significance of horses in native warfare and thus as symbols of authority in the pre-Roman period has been emphasised by Creighton.[75] The large enclosures on the downs beyond Hod Hill might provide the evidence for the corralling of horse, rounded up from the wild, as suggested by Harcourt in his study of the animal remains from Gussage All Saints, with its earlier tradition of chariot or horse-harness manufacture. The form and location of these enclosures is unlike any nearby arable field system or defended settlement, the westernmost overlooked from a vantage point allowing oversight of exercises or the selection of mounts, in the manner of Roman cavalry training grounds but on a larger scale. The more eastern set round a stream head recalls the emphasis on water sources in Creighton.[76]

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71 For details of the *campus* and *tribunal* of a training ground see Davies (1968, 77).

72 Griffith (1984, 20–5, fig. 4).

73 Todd (1985, 196). The northern spur of Ham Hill, like Waddon and Hod Hill, has been prolific in Roman military equipment. For the current excavations at Ham Hill see *British Archaeology*, November–December 2013, 10.

74 Barrett *et al.* (2000).

75 Creighton (2000), 17, 22–25.

76 Ibid., 18.

Detailed consideration of the human remains and burials from Spetisbury, Cadbury Camp and Maiden Castle lies beyond the scope of this paper. The Spetisbury and Cadbury remains suggest the mere disposal of the dead without ceremony, the former perhaps buried *en masse* in a ditch at an east gate, the latter in the actual gateway.[77] The nature of the 'War Cemetery' raises the question of whether these were the result of battle or of conflict followed by retribution in the aftermath of revolt. In either case, the stratigraphic details provided by Wheeler are still valid and, as noted above, the homogenous nature of the grave goods suggests a short time span or single event, as he suggested. The historical context remains uncertain; the initial invasion is possible, but the demilitarisation of southern Britain in AD 47 might have prompted widespread insurrections, as noted above.[78] The extensive troubles during the Boudiccan episode in AD 61 remain another possibility and could explain the Second Legion's failure to move from the south-west to join in the final battle against Boudica's forces. For Poenius Postumus, the camp prefect of the legion, presumably stationed in Exeter, to have refused orders to join Paulinus in the Midlands was not cowardice, but the decision of one acting in the legate's absence and fearful of endangering his troops.[79] Maybe the local tribes were colluding with the insurgents or he was aware of untrustworthy native units under training in his area. Unwilling to be caught on the march like Varus in Germany, 50 years before, or Sabinus and Cotta in North-East Gaul, 60 years before that, he denied his force its part in the famous victory and paid the price.[80] A revolt at Maiden Castle at this time could have led to the disarmament of the tribe and execution of the leading families. The savage treatment, and apparent deliberate defacement, recalls the treatment of the leaders of the Brigantian revolt or

77 Gresham (1939, 116–17). The plan of Spetisbury suggests the finds were derived from the southern ditch terminal of a now destroyed eastern gate. The rectilinear enclosure attached to the south side close by should be noted. One lost object was similar to a ballista bolt. At Cadbury mass burials are reported outside the south-west gate, Barrett *et al.* (2000), 7.

78 Tac. *Ann.* 12.31–32. The revolt of the Brigantes reported in the same year and halted by the execution of the ring leaders, seems outside the theatre of operations at such an early date; could this be a tribe in southern Britain?

79 Todd (2004, 55) rightly emphasizes the seriousness of the near loss of the province. Gambash (2012), however, sees a benign policy and rapid return of peace in the aftermath.

80 Tac. *Ann.* 14; Caes. *BG* 5.26–37; Webster (1978, 95). If Boudica had emulated the Varan disaster, as implied in the speech given her (Tac. *Agr.* 15), Postumus might have had the option of withdrawal across the Channel. One cannot help feeling sympathy for his predicament and his name seems strangely appropriate.

of the Venetic tribal senate by Caesar over a century before.[81] The slaughter of the tribal leaders and the enslavement of the people in this coastal region in the south of Brittany would be a precedent for the similar harsh treatment of a people with possibly ancestral ties to Northern France.

In the aftermath, more peaceable connections were maintained with the military in the north. By the mid-second century the quantities of Dorset Black Burnished Ware in the Midlands and on the northern frontier prove the start of long term trading links in more domestic material.[82] This pottery may be the 'tracer' for the invisible transport of grain and other food stuff, this trade by long sea routes only ending in the late-fourth century with the run-down in northern garrisons and the increasing dangers of sea traffic. By then the northern frontier was thrown back on its own devices and its own local supply; however, at some stage, the Durotriges of the Ilchester area, at least, had played their part in the repair of Hadrian's Wall.[83] In the late fourth century and beyond the Durotriges were then creating their own earthen defensive frontier at Bokerly Dyke against a new threat.

Finally, Hardy should be quoted for an only half-fictional account of the Max Gate burials, written soon after their discovery:

> *It was impossible to dig more than a foot or two deep about the town fields and gardens without coming upon some tall soldier or other of the Empire.... He was mostly found lying on his side, in an oval scoop in the chalk, like a chicken in its shell; his knees drawn up to his chest; sometimes with the remains of his spear against his arm; a fibula or brooch of bronze on his breast or forehead; an urn at his knees, a jar at his throat, a bottle at his mouth; and mystified conjecture pouring down upon him from the eyes of Casterbridge street boys and men...*
>
> *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, CHAPTER XI, FIRST PUBLISHED 1886.

As a native, I know the scene well; possibly Hardy was right to see here a soldier's grave, but that of a Durotrigan recruit, not a '*tall soldier... of the Empire*'.

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81 Caes. *BG* 3.16. The double graves are noteworthy and possibly a feature unique to this cemetery. The paired male and females would imply three aristocratic couples while the three double male burials recall the existence of *soldurii*, a Celtic term for paired comrades in arms, *ibid*. 3.22. In the British context, the pairing of warriors would suit chariot teams.

82 Exemplified at Little Chester, Derby, see Symonds (2002, 155) and Brancaster, Norfolk, see Andrews (1985, 88). For its distribution beyond the Antonine Wall see Frere & Wilkes (1989, 251, fig. 120, 96–104).

83 Fulford (2006). The reuse of a pagan altar for one of these inscriptions suggests a late date, as do some of the letter forms.

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CHAPTER 7

# Apamea and the Integration of a Roman Colony in Western Asia Minor

*Aitor Blanco-Pérez*

## Introduction

The *Colonia Iulia Concordia Apamea* was one of the few Roman colonies in western Asia Minor. It was established in the second half of the first century BC in Bithynia where a Greek system of *poleis* had already been present for a long time. Studies on Roman colonies in the 'Greek East' have often overemphasized the impact of these new entities on their environment as evidence of 'Romanization'.[1] By contrast, they have mostly marginalised the way in which the native/local contexts affected them. The aim of this paper is to study the internal characteristics of this Roman colony in order to determine whether such a new entity interacted socially and politically with its environment.

In spite of the literary accounts of Pliny the Younger and especially Dio Chrysostom, no sufficient work on Apamea has yet been undertaken. First, I will contrast those exceptional sources with the local epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Second, I will try to establish comparisons with other Roman colonies in order to find possible and applicable analogies. My intention is to shed new light on this specific case and, at the same time, examine related issues concerning aspects of Roman law, especially regarding the relation between *civitas Romana* and Greek *politeia*. As a result, this paper will be relevant to the understanding not only of this region, but also of the situation of Roman colonies wherever a 'Greek' context was predominant.

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1 E.g. Sartre (2001).

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### Apamea-Myrleia and the Establishment of a Roman Colony

The privileged site of Apamea (modern *Mudanya*) was always subject to colonization. The Ionian city of Colophon founded a settlement called Myrleia here at an unknown date.[2] Since other Greek colonies in Bithynia were established throughout the seventh century BC, it is likely that Apamea's foundation occurred in the same period.[3] The next record of the settlement comes from the tribute lists of the Athenian *Arche*, in which Myrleia—named Brylleion—paid 3000 drachmas in the years 433/2, 432/1, 430/29, and 418/7.[4] The situation in Bithynia and, especially, in those Greek cities along the Propontis was considerably precarious at this time, as they were apparently threatened by the attacks of indigenous population.[5] At the end of the fourth century, Myrleia was controlled by the Persian dynast Mithridates,[6] and probably belonged to the *koinon* of Athena Ilias' sanctuary.[7] In 202 BC the city was destroyed by Philip II of Macedonia and then transferred to Prusias I, king of Bithynia,[8] who refounded it with the name of his wife Apama.[9] Under the control of this new dynasty, Bithynia underwent a process of transformation based on an extensive programme of refoundations that converted this area into a centre of Hellenism.[10] Nevertheless, the onomastic evidence from Apamea during the pre-Roman colonial period shows that two of the seven names attested were still non-Greek.[11] The role of Apamea in the Hellenistic age was not prominent until the Mithridatic Wars when the city supported the king of Pontus and opened its port for him.[12] In consequence, when Licinius Lucullus took over the command of the campaign against Mithridates in 74 BC, Apamea was

2 St. Byz. *Eth.* 17; Mela *De chorographia* 1.199; Plin. *HN.* 5.143.

3 Chalcedon in 685 BC and Kios around 626/5 BC. See Sölch (1925, 140–56); Harris (1980, 858–60). On the prevalence of the Greek colonial heritage in the imperial age see Mitchell (1984, 130).

4 Ruschenbusch (1983, 141).

5 Fernoux (2004, 25). On the indigenous population of Bithynia see Corsten (2006).

6 Diod. Sic. 20.111.4.

7 Corsten (1987, 9).

8 Plb. 15.21–4.

9 Str. 12.4.3. See Cohen (1995, 392–3).

10 See Fernoux (2004, 31–111).

11 Fernoux (2004, 80). On the other hand, note that the famous Hellenistic grammarian and intellectual Asklepiades seems to have come from Apamea-Myrleia; see Rawson (1982, 365–6); Polito (1999, 54).

12 Plut. *Luc.* 7; Memn. 27.8.

severely punished: the Romans besieged and destroyed the city and the population was massacred.[13]

The information about the state of the city from those events to the establishment of a Roman colony is very scant, except for four coins struck under the proconsuls Papirius Carbo (61–59 BC) and Vibius Pansa (48–7 BC).[14] Even the details and circumstances of the foundation of a Roman colony in Apamea remain controversial. Although a *terminus post quem* in 45 BC is generally accepted, the title *Iulia* could refer to either Caesar, Mark Antony, or Augustus.[15] Thus, Brunt and Clark have attributed this settlement to Caesar,[16] whereas Grant and Bowersock have suggested Mark Antony, given the epithet *Concordia*, which would refer to the period of the Second Triumvirate.[17] An Apamean coin dating to 27 BC and containing the legend *IMP*(*erator*) *C*(*aesar*) *DIVI F*(*ilius*) *S*(*enatus*) *C*(*onsulto*) *C*(*oloniam*) *R*(*estituit*) indicates that Octavian probably confirmed the status of the colony once Mark Antony was defeated.[18] However, this refoundation does not appear in the lists of the *Res Gestae*.[19]

It is generally accepted that the main objective of the colonial programmes in the Iulian and Augustan periods was to settle the numerous veterans resulting from the constant civil wars.[20] The majority of the colonists of the Augustan colonies in Pisidia came from the legions V Gallica and the VII, which had an overwhelming Italian/Western background.[21] This type of veteran colony—as Apamea presumably was[22]—had a high chance of success, especially when those veterans were not unacquainted with the language and features of the Greek East.[23] In addition to the ex-military population, the presence of Roman businessmen (*negotiatores*) was often significant.[24] This was probably also the case in Apamea, an area with good economic prospects.[25] Indeed, Bithynia lay

13 App. *Mith.* 77; Orosius *Hist.* 6.2.23.
14 *REC* I, p. 249–8, no. 28–31.
15 Bowersock (1966, 62); Clark (2007, 251).
16 Brunt (1971, 600); Clark (2007, 251).
17 Grant (1946, 255); Bowersock (1966, 63).
18 Grant (1946, 257).
19 *RG* 28. See Fernoux (2004, 177).
20 Bowersock (1966, 67).
21 Levick (1967, 56–67); Bru (2009). For their local epitaphs see Christol & Drew-Bear (1998).
22 Fernoux (2004, 173) suggests the Gallic legions of Antony and the new soldiers recruited by him in Italy after the Treaty of Brundisium as the source of Apamean colonists.
23 Bowersock (1966, 71).
24 See, for example, the *Crepereii* of Antioch by Pisidia, Levick (1966, 58).
25 Fernoux (2004, 177).

along the commercial and strategic chain of Roman colonies established from Greece to the southern coast of the Propontis and the Black Sea.[26]

Together with the commercial activity, one of the main aspects of Roman colonies in Asia Minor was their agricultural character.[27] This is also suggested in Apamea by the appearance of the foundation ritual with the ox and the furrow on local coins.[28] Albeit shorter than in the Early Republic, the process of establishing a Roman colony in the Iulian period still required a considerable amount of time and the participation of numerous officials.[29] Every colonist was given an allotment of land, the size of which varied according to his military rank on discharge and, therefore, a substantial extent of civic territory was necessary.[30] The *territorium* of a colony was not limited to the urban centre itself and its surrounding lands or *pertica*; Patras, for example, included several neighbouring communities in western Achaia, the former tracts of Dyme, and some cities of southern Aetolia such as Kalydon or Naupaktos.[31]

Naturally, not only Roman colonists lived in those large territories, and the presence of native population was very significant, especially when a previous *polis* had existed in the area. Of the 91 names attested in Apamea and its territory in the colonial period, 65% are Greek/indigenous and 25% Italian or Western.[32] The integration of Roman colonists and *peregrini* after the establishment of these new settlements did not follow a single pattern. Both groups could be included in a single community or split into two different political bodies, sometimes even physically separated by walls.[33] Colonies of veterans normally had a single political body,[34] and this seems to have been the case

26 Bowersock (1966, 62). For the presence of a similar programme of foundations on the Mauritanian shores see Gsell (1928, 199–205). On the trade networks between Apamea and Perinthus, for example, see Robert (1974, 61–9) and *SEG* 26.826. This process fits perfectly within the general patterns of Mediterranean colonization, see Purcell (2005).

27 Levick (1967, 96).

28 Mionnet, *Suppl.* 28. This representation would allude to the importance of the *pomerium* and, in fact, the same type of coins can be found in other Roman colonies in the East such as Berytus, see Hill (1910, IV no. 51); Millar (1990, 12).

29 Keppie (1983, 87–8). For the duties of the *agrimensores* and the evidence in the Gromatic texts see Dilke (1971); Granach (1996).

30 Levick (1967, 95); Keppie (1983, 92). See, for example, Rizakis (1997, 17) for the confiscation of both public and private lands later used by Caesar in Corinth.

31 Rizakis (1997, 23).

32 Fernoux (2004, 193).

33 Levick (1967, 71) on Heraclea Pontica. See also Mitchell (1979) for the interesting cases of Iconium and Ninica.

34 Sherwin-White (1973, 211).

in Apamea too, especially after the segregation system had recently failed in Heraclea Pontica.[35] In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that the population of the urban area, where the majority of colonists was usually settled, had been decimated after Lucullus' siege and his massacre of the pre-Roman population.[36] In such a context, it is logical to suggest that the group of *peregrini* inhabiting the territory as *incolae* in the first phase of the Roman colony of Apamea would have been mainly composed of peasants farming rural areas. Consequently, their economic and political power could not be too influential. On the other hand, Roman colonists presumably occupied the best lots of land and enjoyed several rights—and also duties—thanks to their Roman citizenship that promoted them to a privileged status in the East.[37] This certainly generated the creation of Italian elites within the community, such as the *Catilii*.[38] In sum, the arrival of Roman settlers introduced a new social hierarchy by which the civic structure of the *Colonia Iulia Concordia Apamea* was to be stratified.[39]

The establishment of a colony entailed the creation of a new political community that was organised according to fixed and traditional structures. This Roman model of *colonia* was constituted of one assembly or *populus*, a council or *ordo decurionum*, and the magistrates (*honores*). Epigraphic evidence from Apamea does not show any of these magistracies as it does in Antioch by Pisidia.[40] Yet, the existence of *duoviri* is attested in three local coins,[41] and the *ordo decurionum* appears as βουλή in one inscription.[42] Furthermore, most of the Apamean coinage bore the legend *D*(*ecurionum*) *D*(*ecreto*).[43] This Roman model of political organization superseded the Hellenistic structure of the previous *polis*, and eventually created an autonomous civic body.

In addition to these internal features, Apamea in its condition of colony was theoretically part of Rome and therefore independent from the rest of the

35 Strabo 12.3.6.

36 Rizakis (1997) 32.

37 See Sherwin-White (1973, 291–334) for an account of these privileges and rights, e.g. *ius commercii, ius conubii, ius honorum*, and the way in which such privileges may have affected the life of Roman citizens in the East. On their specific impact on Bithynia see Fernoux (2004, 208–18).

38 Fernoux (2004, 177–9, 416–17, 446–51).

39 Keppie (1983, 106); Rizakis (1997, 19).

40 Levick (1967, 78–91).

41 *RPC* I. 2007–9.

42 *I.Apam.* 3: Μ. Κλαύδιον Σεκουνδεῖνον, ἀδελφὸν Σεκουνδείνου, Κλαυδία Ἀθηνῶι ἡ μήτηρ ψηφ(ίσματι) βουλ(ῆς).

43 *DEC* no. 37–102.

province.[44] From the time of Augustus, it would have enjoyed a status analogous to a *civitas libera* and, as such, it was not supposedly subject to the intervention of provincial officials.[45] Moreover, the *Digest* records Apamea as one of those Roman colonies with the *ius italicum*.[46] Only when these exceptional characteristics of the settlement are acknowledged, is it possible to understand the very remarkable case recorded by Pliny the Younger when he was governor of Bithynia and consulted the emperor Trajan:

> When, Sir, I wished to inspect the finances of Apamea, persons owing, revenue, and expenditure, I was told that the citizens were all quite willing for me to see the accounts of the colony, although none of the senatorial governors had ever done so; and it was their long-established custom and privilege to manage their internal affairs in their own way.[47]

The emperor Trajan ratified those privileges by answering: 'Let them know that you are making this inspection at my express wish, and it will be carried out without prejudice to their existing privileges'.[48]

## Greek Context: Interaction and Integration

The *Colonia Iulia Concordia Apamea* was situated in Bithynia. By the time when Roman colonists arrived there, Greek was the language spoken, the '*polis* model', remarkably homogeneous after the *lex Pompeia*,[49] regulated most of its cities and foreign relations, and natives did not attack Greek colonies any

44 Levick (1967, 84).

45 Fernoux (2004, 172).

46 *Dig*. 50.15.1.10. Although the details of this distinction are still not entirely clear to us, it seems to have entailed an even more privileged status for the colonies. For an approach on the problematic features of the *ius Italicum* both at the civic and personal levels see Triantaphyllopoulos (1963).

47 Plin. *Ep*. 10.47: *Cum vellem, domine, Apameae cognoscere publicos debitores et reditum et impendia, responsum est mihi cupere quidem universos, ut a me rationes coloniae legerentur, numquam tamen esse lectas ab ullo proconsulum; habuisse privilegium et vetustissimum morem arbitrio suo rem publicam administrare*. Transl. Radice.

48 Plin. *Ep*. 10.48: *Iam nunc sciant hoc, quod inspecturus es, ex mea voluntate salvis, quae habent, privilegiis esse facturum*.

49 See Marshall (1968); Ameling (1983). On the impact of Pompey's provincial reorganization, the prevalence of which was still reported by Cassius Dio 37.20.2, and the subsequent Roman imperial rule on the civic life of the region see Madsen (2009, 27–57).

longer because, in a certain sense, they had also become *Hellenes*.[50] Apamea was embedded in a Greek context with which it interacted. Such an interaction was to affect its development as a city and functioning civic community.

Despite the very scarce epigraphic evidence discovered in Apamea, the testimony of one of the products of the transformation of Bithynia since the Hellenistic age illustrates the existence of that interaction: Dio Chrysostom.[51] After his return from the Domitian exile, the famous rhetor from Prusa by the Olympus composed *Oratio* 40 and 41 dealing with the *homonoia* between his fatherland and Apamea.[52] Both speeches were probably motivated by the existence of a conflict concerning local boundaries at the end of the first century AD.[53] Modern opinion has suggested that Dio may have even tried to promote the synoecism between these two cities.[54] In the presentation of the case to his fellow Prusans, this direct witness corroborates the particular privileges previously acknowledged by both Pliny and Trajan.

> So I claim it is never profitable even for the greatest city to indulge in hostility and strife with the humblest village; but of course when the hostility is directed against men who occupy no small city (Apamea), who have a privileged form of government and who, if they are prudent, enjoy a measure of distinction and influence with the proconsuls.[55]

## 1 *Interaction*

As I noted above, the *Oratio* 40 was supposedly delivered before the assembly of Prusa.[56] Besides the description of the status of Apamea, this text also provides us with numerous signs of interaction between the colony and Dio's homeland: 'Men (Apameans) who, above all, share your borders, are neighbours to your cities and mingle with you almost every day, most of you being

50 See Mitchell (1984).

51 See Swain (1996, 187–241). On his attitude towards Roman rule see Madsen (2009, 107–19).

52 On Dio's period of exile see Desideri (1978, 187–260). For the chronology of his speeches see Salmeri (2000, 66, no. 62).

53 Dio Chrys. 40.30; see Jones (1978, 91).

54 See Desideri (1978, 410).

55 Dio Chrys. 40.22: οὕτως ἔγωγέ φημι μηδέποτε λυσιτελεῖν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ φιλονικεῖν μηδὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην κώμην· ὅταν δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἢ πόλιν οἰκοῦντας οὐ σμικρὰν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τιμήν τινα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐὰν σωφρονῶσι. Transl. Cohoon.

56 Dio Chrys. 40.17: καὶ ψηφισαμένων ὑμῶν (Prusans) ἐμὲ καλεῖν, ἴσως καὶ ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας.

bound to them by ties of marriage…'[57] These same terms are found in more detail in the *Oratio* 41, which was delivered before the Apamean council: 'You should show yourselves gentle and magnanimous toward men who are so close to you, virtually housemates, and not harsh or arrogant neighbours.'[58]

Apamea and Prusa (modern *Bursa*) were separated by less than 20 kilometres. These two communities were physically very close and a great part of their territories was adjacent. Dio's selection of terms such as ὅμοροι, ἀστυγείτονες / γείτονες found in both texts implies a close relationship; but this is not exaggerated. As for the use of συνοίκοι, this word has only one occurrence in Dio's corpus,[59] and therefore the underlying concept of synoecism cannot be excluded, as I have emphasised above.

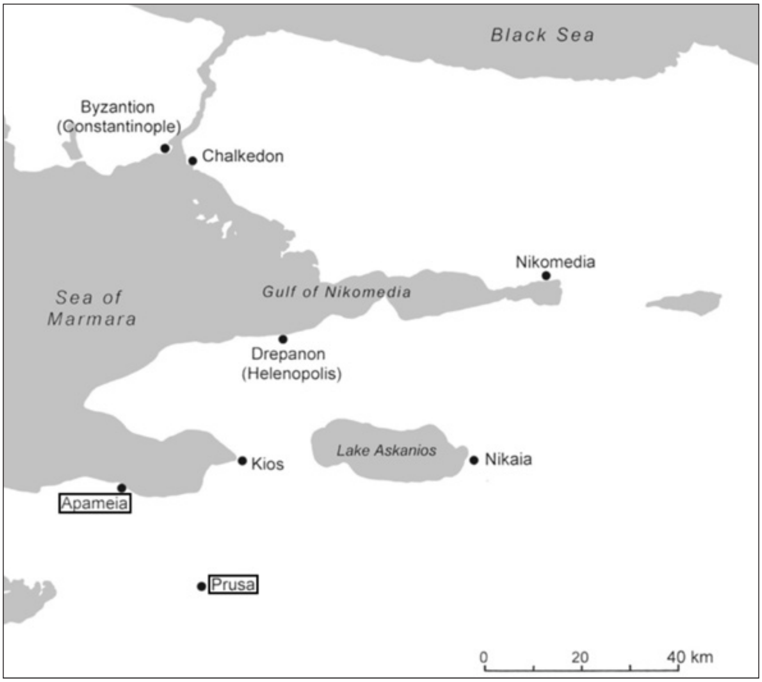


FIGURE 7.1 *Map of the Apamea, Prusa and surroundings. Adapted from Bekker-Nielsen (2008).*

57 Dio Chrys. 40.22–3: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὁμόρους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑμῖν ἐπιμιγνυμένους, τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπιγαμίας ὑπαρχούσης.

58 Dio Chrys. 41.10: προσήκει μιμουμένους ὑμᾶς πρᾴους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας φαίνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ συνοίκοις σχεδὸν μὴ χαλεποὺς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνους γείτονας, πρὸς οὓς ὑμῖν καὶ γάμοι κοινοὶ καὶ τέκνα. See Jones (1978, 93).

59 Koolmeister–Tallmeister (1981, 416).

The next point on both accounts regarding interaction is the existence of mixed marriages and common children: (ἐπιγαμίαι / γάμοι κοινοὶ καὶ τέκνα). Intermarriage is always a source of cultural exchange, and this aspect should be highlighted as a crucial method of acculturation for Western veterans into their new environment.[60] However, such a natural process presents several problems with Roman law and the *lex Pompeia*. This law specifically stated that children from intermarriage became automatically Roman citizens only if the mother had *civitas Romana*.[61] Otherwise, if the father was a Roman citizen, his wife still had to possess *ius conubii*. Again, the biography of Dio Chrysostom confirms that such a restrictive policy was in place in the first century AD. His father Pasikrates was a *peregrinus*, and only the condition of his mother granted him his Roman citizenship.[62] A closer look at the epigraphic evidence of Apamea shows that the existence of such mixed marriages may have not been uncommon:

> Λ. Νώνιος Πόπλι-
> ος Εὐτυχίᾳ ἰδίᾳ γυ-
> ναικὶ μ(νήμης) χ(άριν)[63]

Even if the arguments are to be based on slippery onomastic evidence, this inscription seems to commemorate a Roman citizen, L. Nonnius Publius, married to a certain Eutychia, with very likely a native origin.[64] Other plausible examples are provided by the epitaphs of Neôn and Marciana[65] and Kaligenia and Rufus.[66]

The next group of activities showing interaction between both communities only appears in the *Oratio* 41:

> (Prusans are people with whom you have) sacrifices to the gods, festive assemblies, and spectacles; moreover, you are educated together with them individually, you feast with them, you entertain each other, you

60 Levick (1967, 191).
61 *Dig*. 50.1.1.2. See Fernoux (2004, 137–8).
62 Bekker-Nielsen (2008, 119).
63 *I.Apam*. 10.
64 Fernoux (2004, 192).
65 *I.Apam*. 16. See Pfühl & Möbius (1979, 383, pl. 62).
66 *I.Apam*. 20.

> spend the greater portion of your time together, you are almost one community, one city only slightly divided.[67]

The range of these activities is very broad. Some of them seem to be again corroborated by the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. The corpus of Apamea includes two dedications to Asklepios by G. Naevius Iustus (Γ. Ναίβιος Ἰοῦστος) and Gracchus Secundus (Γράκχις Σεκοῦνδος).[68] Both dedicators are Roman citizens whose *nomina* are originally Italian.[69] Despite their possible Western origin, both inscriptions were written in Greek and dedicated to the god Asklepios, who appears under the Greek denominations Ἐπιδαύριος, Περγαμηνός, and Διορυγειτής. The traditional cult of Asklepios in Bithynia and Prusa is well attested as well as the influence of his important religious centres in Epidaurus and, especially, nearby Pergamum.[70] From the information provided by these two inscriptions, it is also possible to infer that Roman veterans had adopted local cults such as the elsewhere unattested Asklepios 'of the trench', or, more conservatively, that they shaped their practices in accordance with their new environment. In such a context, the existence of the common sacrifices also mentioned in the text is possible. Likewise, the presence of Apollo Klaros on the reverse of a local coin under Marcus Aurelius and the attestation of delegations at the Ionian temple in the second and third centuries can be better understood.[71]

The term θεάματα used by Dio could indistinctly refer to Greek or Roman spectacles; and the celebration of fairs (πανηγύρεις) between close communities is absolutely natural. Finally, the last series of verbs with the prefix συν- simply reinforce the diversity of the common ties existing between Apamea and Prusa; something which the author aimed to highlight. This final idea especially applies to the last clause: "you are almost one community, one city only slightly divided". It is true that if the rhetor was actually trying to encourage the synoecism between both cites, he would have clearly exaggerated the common aspects uniting them. Yet, it should be equally acceptable to assume that Dio would have never considered the possibility of synoecism unless

67 Dio Chrys. 41.10: καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ θυσίαι θεῶν καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεάματα, καὶ συμπαιδεύεσθε τοῖς καθ' ἕνα καὶ συνεστιᾶσθε καὶ ἀλλήλους ὑποδέχεσθε καὶ ἀλλήλοις τὸν πλείω χρόνον συνδιατρίβετε καὶ σχεδὸν εἷς ἐστε δῆμος καὶ μία πόλις ἐν οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι.

68 *I.Apam.* 5–6.

69 Fernoux (2004, 178).

70 Fernoux (2004, 514).

71 *REC* 52. *I.Apam.* T. 7: Ἀπαμέων Κολόνων ἐν Βειθυνίᾳ. See Ferrary (2005a, 729, 747, 758); Busine (2005, 63).

Apamea and Prusa were similar and close enough to become a single city at that time. Swain has suggested that all these references are just an attempt to recall former Hellenistic times when both cities were founded by the same dynasty.[72] However, it is difficult to believe the effectiveness and validity of this argument when one observes that the audience of Dio in the *Oratio* 41 was the council of decurions of Apamea, a group mainly originating from Roman veterans whose memories and 'affections' for that pristine age would have been very limited, if not inexistent.

## 2 *Integration and Citizenship*

It has become clear that the *Colonia Iulia Concordia Apamea* interacted with the Greek environment of Bithynia of which Prusa was a direct representative. In the following section of the paper, I defend that the influence of this context also affected the internal evolution of civic structures in the Roman colony.

When the colony was settled, all the citizens of Apamea belonging to its political order—*populus* / *decuriones*—were Roman citizens (*colonia civium Romanorum*) with a predominant Western origin. The testimony of Dio Chrysostom in the late first or early second century AD presents a significantly different scenario. Thanks to his *Oratio* 41, we know that his father Pasikrates was granted the local citizenship of Apamea (πολιτεία), even though the emperor had not awarded him Roman citizenship.[73] This can only be explained if one assumes the development of an autonomous local citizenship, separated from the *civitas Romana*, which could be granted to former *peregrini* such as Pasikrates. In the western Roman colonies, it seems that this sort of *adlectio*—i.e. acceptance into the political body—always required the permission of the emperor.[74] By contrast, both the epigraphic evidence and literary sources suggest that local citizenships were given independently in Apamea and other Roman colonies of north-western Asia Minor such as Alexandria Troas.[75] It

72 Swain (1996, 207).

73 Dio Chrys. 61.6: ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς παρὰ τοῦ τότε αὐτοκράτορος φίλου ὄντος ἅμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔτυχεν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ παρ' ὑμῶν. Against Raggi (2004) 61, I believe that this should support the existence of a local Apamean citizenship independent of the *civitas Romana*.

74 For the process of *adlectio* see Thomas (1996, 83–97); especially p. 90 for the epigraphic attestations of this phenomenon.

75 *I.Magn.* 192 (AD 161/169): τειμ[ηθέντα] καὶ πολειτεί[αις καὶ] ἀνδριάντων ἀνασ[τά]σεσιν ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων, Τρῳ[α]δέων. See also in Attaleia [*OGIS* 567]: τετειμημένον πολειτείαις καὶ ἀνδριᾶσιν καὶ προεδρίαις ὑπό τε τῶν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν Λυκίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐπί τε συνηγορίαις καὶ σεμνότητι, ὑπό τε κολωνε[ι]ῶν'.

has been argued that all those local citizenship grants were merely honorific.[76] Again, the speeches of Dio concerning the *homonoia* between Apamea and Prusa discredit that theory:

> [ . . . ] while some citizens, yes, virtually the most influential citizens among us (Prusans), have obtained the honour of citizenship with them (Apameans).[77]

> Besides, several (citizens of Prusa) you have even made citizens of Apamea, you have made them members of the Council, you have deemed them not unworthy of becoming magistrates among you and you have admitted them to partnership in these distinctions which pertain to Romans.[78]

The combination of Pasikrates' case and the two texts included above shows that the participation of Prusans in the local political life of Apamea was not just honorific. This participation entailed membership to the council of the colony and acceptance in the local political *cursus* where their magistracies, monetary contributions, and benefactions will have been of great value to the entire civic community. It is therefore not a coincidence that when Dio refers to those possessing local Apamean citizenship, he specifically mentions the citizens 'most influential (δυνατώτατοι) among us'. Undoubtedly, civic elites played a crucial role in the integration of Apamea in the Greek context of Bithynia. The grant of multiple local citizenships within this context was extremely common under Roman rule, in spite of the restrictions of the *lex Pompeia* as attested by Pliny and the biography of Dio.[79] Such an integration would not have been possible without the evolution of Roman law in the imperial age.

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76 Fernoux (2004, 196), following Von Arnim (1898). See Gauthier (1985, 149–76); Van Nijf (2012) for a reassessment of the traditional distinction between honorific and 'practical' local citizenship.

77 Dio Chrys. 40.23: τοῦτο δὲ πολιτῶν τινων, καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν δυνατωτάτων παρ' ἡμῖν, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνοις τιμῆς τετυχηκότων.

78 Dio Chrys. 41.10: καὶ τοίνυν πλείους τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολίτας πεποίησθε, καὶ βουλῆς μετεδώκατε, καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐκ ἀπηξιώσατε γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ πόλεως ἐκοινωνήσατε.

79 Plin. *Ep.* 10.114: *lege, domine, Pompeia permisum est Bithynicis civitatibus adscribere sibi quos vellent cives dum ne quem earum civitatium quae sunt in Bithynia*; 10.115: *quamvis contra legem asciti quarumcumque civitatium cives, in futurum autem lex Pompeia observaretur* [cf. Fernoux (2012)]. For Dio Chrysostom's example see 38.1, 39.1, 41.2, and Jones (2012).

In theory, the possession of local citizenships was incompatible with the *civitas Romana* according to Republican Roman law.[80] However, that restriction was no longer in practice in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.[81] The transformation can be explained by the combination of several factors. Firstly, Roman citizenship had only exceptionally been given to Easterners before the Iulian period, unless they were manumitted slaves.[82] Secondly, and most importantly, the administration, civic life and self-sufficiency of the Greek East during the imperial age was built upon the system of Hellenistic *poleis*. This system needed to be supported by local elites through their *munera/litourgiai*.[83] These urban elites were precisely the first to reach Roman citizenship. At the same time, however, they also maintained their local *politeiai* as members of the civic community where they most commonly resided, where they had their origins and where they were expected to participate in politics.[84] Consequently, Augustus clearly stated in his Cyrene Edicts that new Roman citizens were not exempted from their local contributions.[85] The later clause of the *Tabula Banasitana*, *civitatem romanam salvo iure gentis dare*, has to be interpreted in the same way.[86] As Sherwin-White summarised: "in the Principate, a man's public life lay in this local *patria*, while his status and property were determined by the rules of the Roman State".[87]

The diffusion of Roman citizenship, especially in the East, transformed its characteristics. The *civitas Romana* stayed at a separated level superior to the Greek civic communities (πολιτεύματα), which were not superseded. These different but permeable levels of Roman citizenship and Greek *politeia* enabled the continuity of the *polis* model throughout the imperial age. As such, those Roman citizens originally from the East continued to belong to their local community, but with a series of duties, rights and privileges granted by the *civitas Romana*, which naturally had an effect on their personal status, properties, and career opportunities. At the level of the Greek *politeumata* of Bithynia,

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80 Cic. *Balb*. 28.1: *duarum civitatum civis noster esse iure civili non potest*. See Fournier (2012, 85–8).

81 See Sherwin-White (1973, 291–334).

82 See Ferrary (2005b).

83 See Zuiderhoek (2009).

84 *Dig*. 50.4.3.pr: *et qui originem ab urbe Roma habent, si alio loco domicilium constituerunt, munera eius sustinere debent*.

85 *SEG* 9.8.3: εἴ τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυρηναϊκῆς ἐπαρχήας πολειτήαι τετείμηνται, τούτους λειτουργεῖν οὐδὲν ἔλασ<σ>ον ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματι κελεύω. See De Visscher (1940); Ferrary (2005, 72–4).

86 *IAM* 94. See Seston & Euzennaz (1961).

87 Sherwin-White (1973, 304).

the personal possession of two or more *politeiai* continued to be common in the imperial age despite the aforementioned restrictions of the *lex provinciae*.

Only under the influence of the Bithynian context described by this paper is it possible to understand why Apamea, a Roman colony closely interacting with Prusa, appears to act just like any other Greek *politeuma* of this region. In this context, the creation of a local *politeia* that could be granted to individuals such as Pasikrates was dominant despite the restrictions of Roman law. Through the adoption of this mechanism, other rich and prestigious Greeks such as those from Prusa were able to participate in the political and civic life of Apamea, where they could provide beneficial *munera/leitourgiai* as magistrates (ἄρχοντες) and members of the city's council (βουλῆς μετεδώκατε). As I emphasised above, this procedure does not seem to be exclusive to Apamea, according to the epigraphic evidence of other Roman colonies of western Asia Minor. Actually, Dio himself may have indicated the prevalence and normality of such a practice when he states in the *proemium* of his *Oratio* 41:

> For not only other *poleis*, but almost the majority of those which share your (privileged) condition, have made me, wherever I was, a participant of their citizenship, council and the most prominent honours even though I did not request them.[88]

Nonetheless, the use of procedures similar to other Greek cities of the region does not imply that Apamea lost its privileged status as we have learned from both Pliny, Trajan and Dio.

## Conclusion: 'Staying Roman, Becoming Greek'

Cicero called Narbo Martius *specula populi Romani*,[89] and Aulus Gellius described colonies as *quasi effigies parvae simulacraque Romae*.[90] In this respect the territory of Antioch by Pisidia was divided into *vici* that bore names of Roman origin,[91] and this might also have been the case in Apamea. Despite the presence of *peregrini* in the colony, we have seen above that the most

88 Dio Chrys. 41.2: γὰρ μόνον αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰσοτίμων ὑμῖν (Apameans) αἱ πλεῖσται σχεδόν, ὅπου γέγονα, καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρώτων τιμῶν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ μετέδωκαν.

89 Cic. *Font.* 13.

90 Gell. *NA*. 16.13.9.

91 Bowersock (1966, 69).

prominent segment of the population had a Western provenance. This population did not forget their origin, as the important presence of Roman elements attests. Latin script was used in the local coinage of Apamea from its foundation until the last series under Saloninus (AD 258–260).[92] The majority of the surviving public inscriptions were also written in Latin. Moreover, this exceptional presence of Roman elements was not confined to the public sphere. In one inscription two *peregrini* called Euporus and Zosarin made a dedication in Latin to their son Trofimo,[93] and the name of the wife of Valerianus, son of Eukarios, was Italia.[94] As we have shown, the presence of those particular features did not prevent the population of Apamea from interacting with the Greek context of Bithynia and, hence, the adoption of foreign elements was very significant. In this regard, Greek was the language most commonly used in private inscriptions.[95] In this language, two probable descendants of Western colonists dedicated two vows to the god Asklepios under the Greek denominations Ἐπιδαύριος/Περγαμηνός and Διορυγειτής. In addition to the direct epigraphic and numismatic evidence, the common activities described by Dio in his *Oratio* 40 and 41 undoubtedly corroborate the existence of a process of interaction and exchange with Prusa by the Olympus.

To conclude, the transformation of the Apamea from its foundation to the end of the first century AD is to be understood not solely in terms of identity, but also with regard to the evolution of its civic structures, political procedures, and foreign relations.[96] On the one hand, Western settlers of the colony were perfectly aware of the origin, rights, and privileges that they were entitled to enjoy: *salva privilegia* (Pliny) / πολιτεία ἐξαίρετος (Dio). On the other, the maintenance and defence of such a privileged condition did not prevent Apameans from interacting with the Greek environment of Bithynia surrounding them. In this context, Greek cities had local citizenships that remained at a level different to the *civitas Romana*. Such a distinction between different and permeable levels of citizenship was one of the factors enabling the continuity of the Hellenistic model of *poleis* in the Eastern part of the

92 *REC* I, no. 32–122. See Katsari & Mitchell (2008) for a very detailed study of civic coinage in the Eastern Roman colonies, which appears to be also influenced by their 'Greek' environment.

93 *I.Apam*.23: *Euporus et Zosarin Trofimo f(ilio) suo ann(orum) XX. m(emoriae) c(ausa)*.

94 *I.Apam*.13: [Ἰ]ταλίạ ζησάσῃ κοσμίως ἔτη[.] η' Οὐạλεριανὸṣ Εὐκάρπου [ὁ] ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τὴν στήλλην [κατ]εσκεύασεṿ σωφροσύνης [καὶ φ]ιλανδρίας χάριν.

95 24 inscriptions of the epigraphic corpus of Apamea are written in Greek and 8 in Latin. This phenomenon is also attested in Antioch by Pisidia, see Levick (1967, 134).

96 See Sartre (2004).

Roman Empire. Once Apamea was integrated into this model, we also observe this civic community acting in a Greek fashion, exactly as Alexandria Troas and other Roman colonies in Asia Minor seem to have done too. The *Colonia Iulia Apamea* stayed Roman in its rights and privileges but, at the same time, became Greek in the way in which it interacted and integrated into its influential environment.

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CHAPTER 8

# Burial and Commemoration in the Roman Colony of Patras

*Tamara Dijkstra*

## Introduction

In the last decades a lot of theoretical and methodological progress has been made in the study of the expansion of the Roman Empire and the cultural integration of the provinces into the Empire as well as the effects of Empire on the various societies of the Mediterranean and beyond. The debate has made it clear that the traditional view of Romanization, i.e. of Rome being on a civilising mission and imposing a fully uniform Roman culture on people throughout the Empire, can no longer be held.[1] It is now recognized that local communities had an active, not just a passive role in the integration in the Roman Empire and that they could and did have varying responses as the varying material cultures throughout the Empire indicate. In fact, responses to Empire could vary not only per province, but also per social group and per individual.

The fact that Rome was dealt with differently in different places makes it necessary to study the processes of integration and socio-cultural change on a local level. Such context-specific analyses, with a focus on the day to day interaction between local communities and the Romans, can help us to better understand how the various changes we see occurring after Rome's arrival relate to each other and how these processes of change play a part in the integration of regions, cities, families and individuals into a single empire. This paper presents the results of such a context-specific case study. It focusses on the city of Patras, which was colonized by Augustus in 14 BC. Colonization entailed a massive influx of foreigners into the city, among them a large number of Roman army veterans. The main question of this paper is how both locals and immigrants defined their place in the colonial society and how they reshaped their identity as inhabitants of a newly founded Roman colony. The aim is to identify which processes of social and cultural negotiation took place in the first century after colonization.

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1 E.g. Hingley (2003; 2005); Hodos (2009); Mattingly (2009; 2010).

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## The Site: Location and History

Patras is a coastal town located on the Gulf of Patras in the northwest Peloponnese (Figure 8.1). Patras was situated on one of the outlying spurs of Mount Panachaikon above the coastal plain, providing a good view over its natural harbour. Already in Classical and Hellenistic times the site's strategic location was recognised, which is clear from Alcibiades' interest in the site[2] and the fact that Patras was used as a port of entry to the Peloponnese by the Macedonian kings in their struggle over control of the Mediterranean; it was even garrisoned with Kassandros' troops for a while.[3] After having expelled the

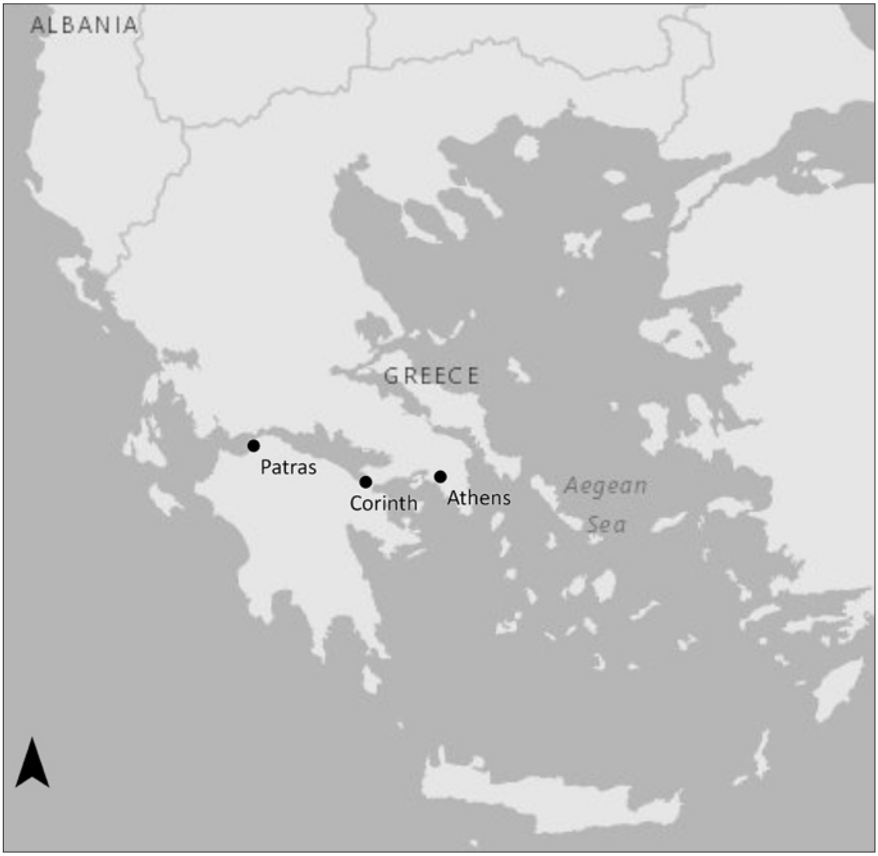


FIGURE 8.1 *Patras is located in Northwest Achaia on the Gulf of Patras.*

2 Thuc. 5.52.
3 Diod. Sic. 19.66, 306.

last Macedonian troops from the city in 281/0 BC, Patras was one of the four cities that instigated the foundation of the new Achaian League.[4]

Roman interest in the city had been growing since 146 BC, when the destruction of Corinth left Patras as the prime harbour town of the region.[5] The port was actively used as an intermediate stage in the journey from Italy to the Aegean for warships, commercial ships and travel.[6] In this period the economic importance and prosperity of Patras increased, although it still remained a city with a marginal position in the new global order. This changed in the last few decades BC, when Patras underwent a dramatic transformation from a Greek harbour town to an important Roman colony.

The colonization of Patras took place in the context of the reorganization of Greece that was started by Caesar and continued by Augustus.[7] They founded colonies on strategic points on sea and land routes connecting them to each other and to Rome and integrating them in the new network spreading throughout the Mediterranean. Patras was renamed *Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis*. The city's strategic location for trade and politics may well have been the most important motivation for colonizing this city, but we should keep in mind also that another of Augustus' motivations may well have been the fact that this city, as well as many other Peloponnesian cities, was allied to Mark Antony during the civil war. This alliance is shown, for example, by an honorary inscription for Censorina, the wife of L. Sempronius Atratinus, general and fleet commander of Marc Antony and *legatus pro praetore* of Achaia in 39 BC.[8] Cleopatra was honoured by the Patraeans under the name of Cleopatra-Isis with the issuing of a coin depicting ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ, Queen Cleopatra, on the obverse and the crown of Isis on the reverse (figure 8.2). Most importantly, the city had welcomed Antony and Cleopatra in the winter of 32/31 BC prior to the decisive battle at Actium.[9]

Augustus' sentiments towards towns supporting Mark Antony are made clear by Cassius Dio, who wrote that in order to settle his own veterans in Italy, Augustus expelled entire communities which had supported Antony and instead settled them abroad.[10] We read in Strabo that Patras was colonized by Augustus after the battle of Actium, when he sent veterans of the Roman army

4 Plb. 2.41; Strabo 8.7.1.

5 Rizakis (1988).

6 Cicero's correspondence with his friends and clients at Patras during the civil war is indicative of the regular contacts between Patras and Italy; see Rizakis (1988, note 11).

7 Rizakis (1997, 15).

8 Rizakis (1998, no. 33).

9 Cass. Dio 50.9.1–4.

10 Cass. Dio 51.4.6.

to live at the city.[11] From various sources, such as coins and inscriptions, we know that the veterans sent to live at Patras had served in *Legio X Equestris* and *Legio XII Fulminata* (figure 8.3).[12]

Both legions had been among Mark Antony's troops for over a decade and had been in the East with him since the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC. It is important to note that by the time they went to battle at Actium, Antony's legions would have been a mixture of Italians who had been with him since he left Rome, of descendants of Italian emigrants whom he recruited in the East, and of non-Romans who may or may not have been given Roman citizenship. These legions were thus a veritable cultural mélange at this time.

FIGURE 8.2 *Coin of Patras with Queen Cleopatra on the obverse and the crown of Isis on the reverse. The coin was struck under commission of a local magistrate, Agias (32/31 BC).*

FIGURE 8.3 *Coin of Patras with Claudius on the obverse and two legionary standards on the obverse. The numerals X and XII signify which legions were settled at Patras.*

11 Strabo 8.7.5.

12 Cf. Rizakis (1998, no. 151–6, 161).

The settlement of veterans from Antony's legions after the battle of Actium must have posed a serious problem for Augustus, since, according to some estimations, there were about 35.000 veterans who had to be accommodated; Patras was just one destination for the veterans.[13] But even though these soldiers had fought on the opposing side, Augustus rewarded them with a veteran's pension; by providing them with a plot of land, and thereby a means of living, Augustus did acknowledge their service to Rome. He did make sure, however, to settle them outside Italy and thereby created a difference between his own men and Antony's men, as well as a physical distance between himself and his former opponents.[14] Patras' alliance to Mark Antony and the settlement of thousands of Antony's veterans in the city may be indicative of a problematic relation between Augustus and Patras. However, according to Pausanias this situation did not persevere, as by the time of the formal foundation of the colony in 16–14 BC Patras received the status of free city as well as other privileges.[15] In the same passage Pausanias tells us how Augustus summoned inhabitants of neighbouring Achaian cities to live at Patras in order to increase the population numbers.[16] A third wave of immigration has been suggested by Keppie and Rizakis and archaeological evidence suggests that by the turn of the millennium Roman families had also moved to Patras.[17]

## The Social Consequences of Colonization

The process of large-scale immigration entailed major disruptions to local society. In the case of Patras the act of colonization and the immigration of thousands of colonists led to a radical overthrow of the established order of things. Instead of being the *polis* of the Patraeans, Patras was now a Roman colony. The local population lost its local citizenship and became foreigners in the colony, while the Roman immigrants were citizens of the *Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis* with full rights. The old ruling class was relegated to

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13 Keppie (2000, 82).

14 Cf. Keppie (2000, 82).

15 Paus. 7.18.5.

16 Paus. 7.18.5. The coinage of Patras commemorates the date 16–14 BC as the formal foundation date of the colony, but literary and epigraphic sources clearly indicate that by this time the city had already been colonized.

17 Rizakis (1998, 26). Keppie (2000, 86) suggests that *Legio XII Fulminata* may not have been settled at Patras after the battle of Actium, but only in 16–14 BC at the time of the Agrippa's eastern campaigns. The coinage of Patras, which refers to both legions, celebrates the date 16–14 BC as the time when both legions were settled at the city.

a marginal position in society and replaced with a new elite. The territory of the town was appropriated by the Roman state and distributed among the colonists.

Colonization also meant that the population of the city consisted of at least four distinct groups of people: 1) the original inhabitants of the *polis* Patras, 2) the colonists from the region, 3) the resident foreigners, notably traders, who had been living and working at Patras prior to colonization and 4) Roman citizens: the veterans of the Roman army and, at a later stage, Roman families. These social groups of Patras had varying legal rights and political and social status.[18] In addition, groups and individuals had varying economic possibilities, since even though the incorporation of Patras in the Empire-wide trade network resulted in growing migration, mobility, and new economic opportunities, these were not available to everyone. We may assume that these varying rights and opportunities led to some of Patras' inhabitants being able to benefit from colonization, whereas others could not.

Clearly the imposition of this radically new social structure must have resulted in social tensions. The question is how the different inhabitants of Patras dealt with these tensions, how they redefined their identity as subjects of the Empire, how they determined their position in the colony, and how they renegotiated their social roles. The reflection of these struggles can be found in the mortuary practices, as the deposition of the dead was an excellent medium for the negotiation of tradition and innovation.

## Social Tensions and Mortuary Practice

The potential of studying the mortuary record for the interpretation of social phenomena has long been recognised. As archaeologists, we are able to draw on a long tradition of mortuary theory and below I address a few main points about how we can use mortuary evidence to answer questions about issues in daily life, and in particular about social strategies in times of change.

Many theories and critiques have appeared about how we should study archaeological remains of death, starting in the 1960s and 1970s, when it was realized that burials could be used to answer questions about social complexity and stratification.[19] Binford hypothesized that the "form and structure which characterize the mortuary practices of any society are conditioned by the form and complexity of the organizational characteristics of the society

18 Rizakis (1997, 25–6).

19 Saxe (1970); Binford (1971).

itself".[20] Social organization should thus be reflected in the mortuary practices: the way people were treated in life was how they were treated in death.

In the early 1980s it was recognised that mortuary practices are not that straightforward and that patterns in death do not "directly and fairly simply reflect patterns in the life of a society". Varying mortuary practices cannot be explained by social patterns alone;[21] they also reflect certain ideas and beliefs, for example about pollution (*miasma*), the afterlife, or power relations in society. These ideas and beliefs are an important factor in the way people deal with death. The relationship between burial and society depends on attitudes to death. Social structure, the rules and concepts which order and give meaning to the social system, need to be included in the study of the mortuary record in order to understand how a cemetery relates to a society.[22]

Hodder and Parker Pearson were among the first to acknowledge that burials can also be used as a distinct form of manipulation: they can misrepresent, disguise, or idealise aspects of the buried individual.[23] As such, mortuary practices can be actively used in certain social processes and can become a form of social strategy. If we think of the cemetery as an arena for display, we can understand how death provides opportunities for making statements or sending messages. This means that, whereas funerary ritual may follow the general rules and norms of a society, every individual burial is acted out in that way which best befits the specific situation, ideas, beliefs, emotions, or perhaps the aims of the deceased, or rather, of the burying group.[24]

Nowadays, death is understood as an opportunity for making statements about personal identity and/or wider social issues. Death provides an occasion for the affirmation of communal or religious values, for the display of particular aspects of identity of an individual, family, or social group, for the proclamation of status and relationships to political entities et cetera.[25] Each individual burial (ideally) represents a closed deposit of a single historical moment, representing the tensions between the ideas of the buried individual and those of the burying group and the wider social groups they are affiliated with at that specific moment in time. The result of different choices is mortuary variability and what we find is often a mix of different practices used in the

20 Binford (1971, 23).
21 Chapman & Randsborg (1981).
22 Hodder (1981).
23 Hodder (1980); Parker Pearson (1982).
24 Morris (1992); Tarlow (1999).
25 Dubisch (1989).

same cemetery. The goal is to identify how the different practices functioned and what their use meant. By identifying repeated routines and divergences in the patterns of use of certain practices, we can discern how they were used in the expression, maintenance and negotiation of identity and how they related to changing conditions in their wider social context.

## Burial and Commemoration in Patras

Funerary remains were found in more than 200 excavated plots in the city, together forming a group of over 200 communal tombs, more than 2200 individual depositions, many epitaphs, and numerous grave goods.[26] Even though the state of publication varies greatly from preliminary to full publications, the sheer quantity of material is amazing. The material dating from Classical to Late Roman times consists of tombs and graves, ash containers, monuments and tomb stones, inscriptions, grave offerings, remains of commemorative ritual, and human remains. In this paper I focus on the on the exterior of the tombs (spatial organization, tomb architecture, and epitaphs) and, therefore, on their public character.[27]

By studying patterns of continuity and change in the mortuary practices and by studying them in their historical context, we come closer to understanding how Patras changed because of and during the process of its colonization and how its society dealt with the forced integration into the Empire in the day to day context of death, burial and commemoration.

The questions addressed in the following sections are which mortuary practices were used in Patras, which choices were made, and why? What happens after colonization: which practices continue in use, and which practices change? More importantly, how do they possibly reflect, or are a factor in, the struggles of day to day life in a polis becoming a colony and the city's incorporation into the Roman Empire?

### 1 *The mortuary locale*

An important aspect of burials is their location. The choice for a specific location can be influenced by various factors, such as tradition, religion, or laws. A study of spatial organization is, therefore, a necessary first step in the analysis of a cemetery. A distribution map of the find locations of all the funerary

26 For the preliminary reports see the section 'Patras' in Αρχαιολογικά Δελτία 1915–2009.

27 The interior of the graves may well tell a different, more personal story.

remains of the Classical to Late Roman period shows that the inhabitants of Patras separated their dead from the living society by burying them outside city limits, as was the case in most cities in the Hellenistic and Roman world (figure 8.4).

The cemeteries of Patras were stretched out along the major roads leading into and out of the city, organized into three main cemeteries. The North cemetery extends along the route to Aigion and Corinth for a length of at least two kilometres. It follows the geomorphology of the terrain, dwindling between the spurs of the acropolis and the marshy zone near the sea.[28] The width of the road was quite impressive, especially in the Roman period when it measured 5.80 to 8.30 m. On a lower level was a pebbled street of the Classical and Hellenistic period, which was less wide (about 3 m). The East cemetery was located on the route leading inland to the smaller villages of Achaia and the South cemetery is found on the route to Dyme. The South and East cemeteries are less well known than the North cemetery, since fewer excavations have taken place there, and these excavations are generally less well documented.

In order to identify changes in the preference for the location of burials, distribution maps of the Classical and Hellenistic material and that of the early Roman period were produced (figures 8.5a, 8.5b).[29]

These two maps indicate various interesting trends in patterns of use and disuse and patterns of clustering. It is clear that from the Classical period onwards the North cemetery was the most important cemetery of Patras. The South cemetery came into use during late Classical times and received a significant number of burials from the Hellenistic period onwards. From the evidence available to date, East cemetery was not in use during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and came into use in the last decades of the first century AD.

In the North cemetery we can single out a section to the west of the acropolis, where burial seems to have been most frequent (figure 5a). This cluster is located on the route to Corinth, one of the most important cities in the Peloponnese in Classical times, and even more so in the Roman period. This route would have been the one most frequently travelled, throughout the existence of ancient Patras. Another important feature of the location of this cemetery is its visibility from the upper town and acropolis of the city. It seems that

28 Dekoulakou (1980, 556; 2011, 163–4).

29 The dates in this paper are based on those provided by the excavators in their preliminary reports. Unfortunately, these dates differ in accuracy. A more detailed chronology may emerge from a thorough study of the architecture and artefacts.

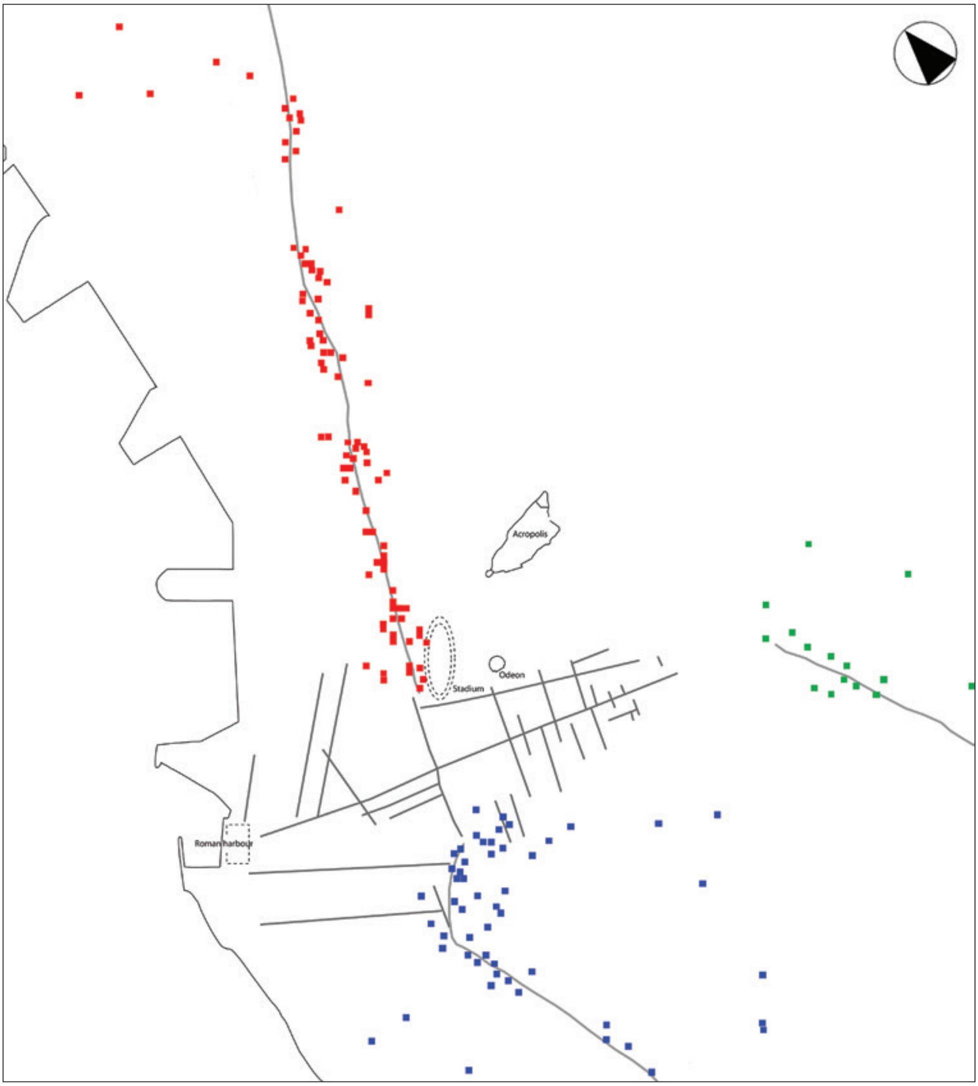


FIGURE 8.4 *Plan of Patras indicating the excavations that yielded funerary remains. Red = North cemetery, Green = East cemetery, Blue = South cemetery.*

this location was quite prominent. The archaeological remains excavated in this area include (inscribed) tombstones and limestone cist graves; very rich funerary offerings such as gold wreaths and jewellery were found. These graves date to the late Hellenistic period. Limestone cist graves were the most elaborate grave type of the Classical and Hellenistic period and the erection of a

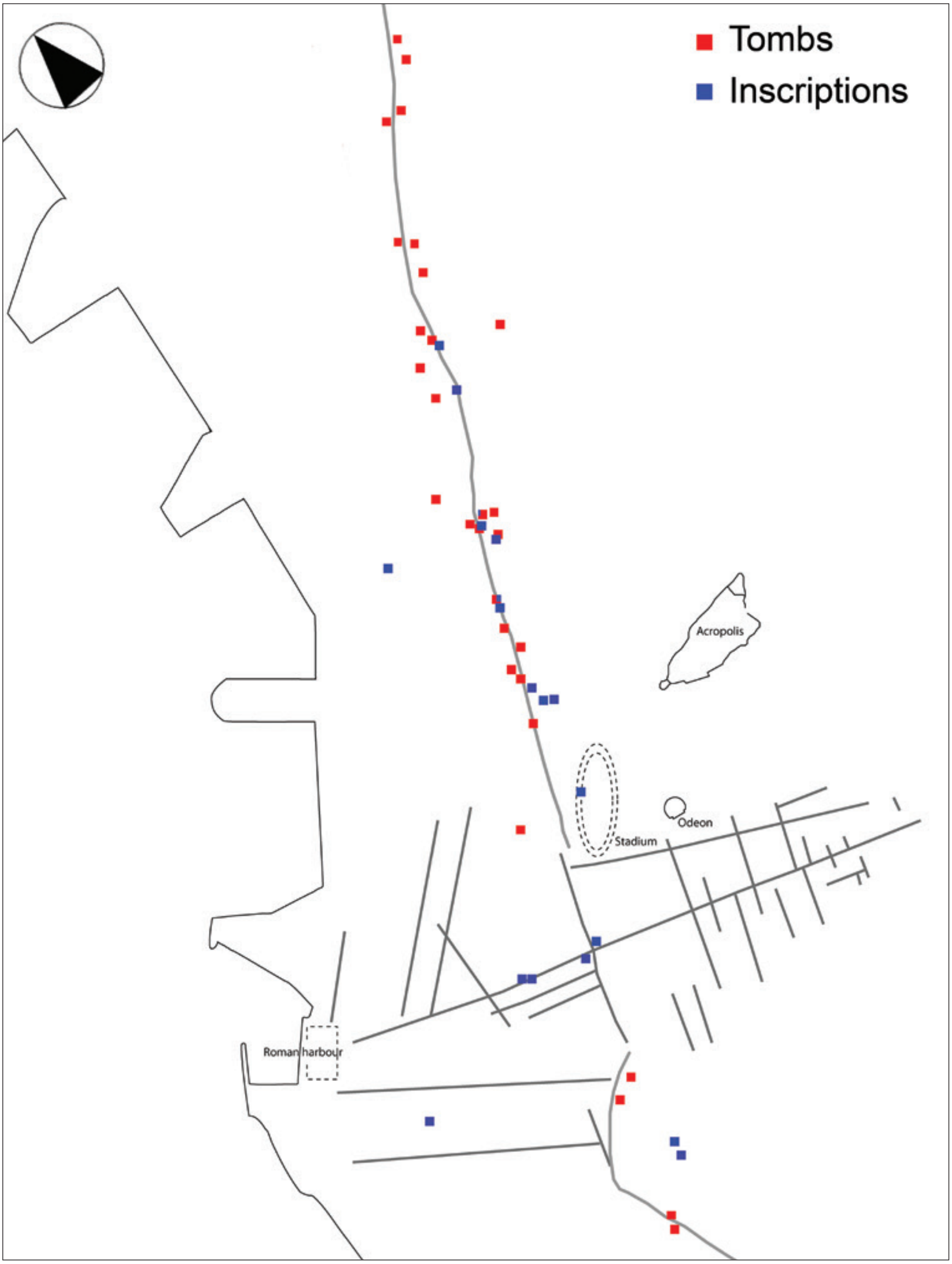


FIGURE 8.5A *Plan of Patras indicating tombs and inscriptions of the Classical and Hellenistic period.*

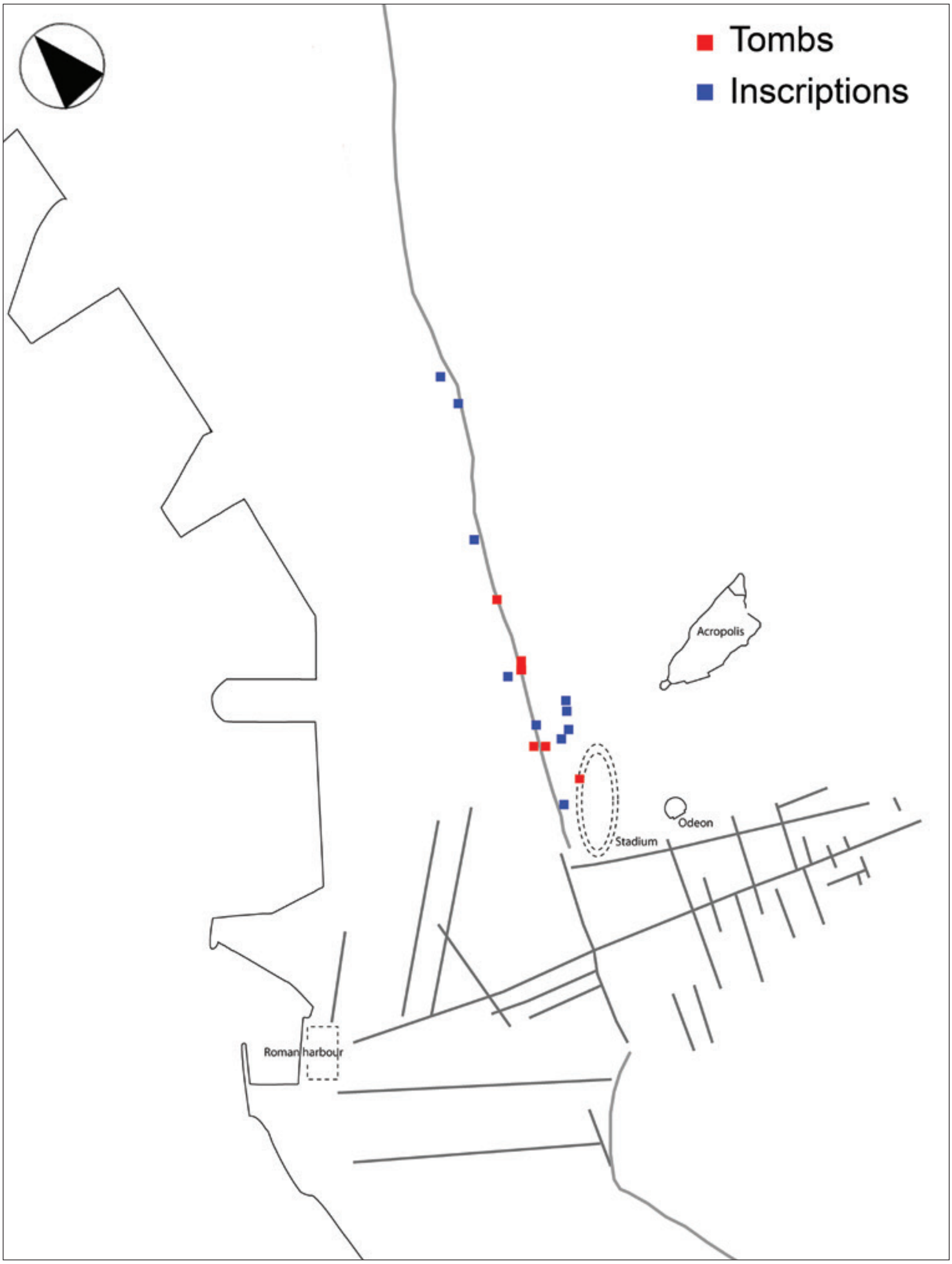


FIGURE 8.5B *Plan of Patras indicating tombs and inscriptions of the early Roman period.*

stone burial marker was quite rare. The types of graves, the burial markers, and the richness of the tombs combined with the specific location suggest that this location was the prominent core of the Classical and Hellenistic burial ground.

The spatial analysis of the material dating to the early Roman period indicates that burial only took place in the North cemetery (figure 8.5b). It is noteworthy that the tombs of the early Roman period did not extend as far along the road as the Classical and Hellenistic tombs, but were clustered near the prominent core of the cemetery described above. An important observation is that the early Roman tombs were located closer to the boundary of the town; the burying groups may well have aimed for increased visibility by the living community.

In summary we can say that the analysis of the spatial organization of the cemeteries reveals three main patterns. The first is the separation of the dead from the living community, a pattern seen all over the ancient Mediterranean. The second pattern is a strong preference for burial in the North cemetery throughout the period under study, which is likely due to it being on the route to Corinth and thus the most travelled route. The third pattern is the clustering of tombs in the early Roman period in the North cemetery and the discontinuation of burial in the South cemetery. The choice for the most prominent location in the burial ground is an important and meaningful one: the people wanted their tombs to be seen.

## 2 *Tomb Architecture*

Although we see a form of continuity in the preferred location for burial, we can note drastic changes in tomb architecture and treatment of the human remains. In the Classical and Hellenistic period the majority of the dead were inhumed. Bodies were deposited in individual graves, either pit graves, tile graves, or the more elaborate cist graves made of locally quarried *poros* or limestone. Cremation was rare, but did occur.[30] The content of the graves ranges from poor to very rich. Rich graves, containing gold wreaths and gold and silver jewellery, occur especially in the late Hellenistic period. There is a correlation between tomb type and the richness of grave gifts, as limestone cists generally contain the richest gifts. All the depositions were placed below ground and the only aboveground features of the cemetery were an occasional enclosure wall, or *peribolos*, and burial markers made of stone or perishable materials such as wood.

30 E.g. L. Papakosta, *Adelt* 35 (1980), Chr. B1, 195; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *Adelt* 52 (1997) Chr. B1, 273–275.

In the early Roman period some distinct changes occurred in the appearance of the cemetery. We may note the rise of monumental funerary structures and the steep rise in cremation remains deposited in urns. There was continued use of tile graves and pit graves, but their overall lack of grave goods prohibit us to ascribe to them a specific date. Cist graves were increasingly made of brick, rather than *poros* or limestone. Whereas in the previous period individual burial was the norm, in the early Roman period the use of communal tombs arose. These communal tombs were meant to house the remains of several individuals who may have been related in life, or formed another kind of social group. The communal tombs were meant to house cremations and/or inhumations.

There are 36 monumental tombs that have been dated to the first century of the colony. These tombs are highly elaborate in form, material and decoration, and the variety is enormous. There are chamber tombs, columbaria, hypogea, monuments built on a stepped podium, multi-storey tombs, a temple-tomb, and exedra monuments. These large and impressive monuments are strongly reminiscent of Italian tombs of the late Republican and early Imperial times on the Via Appia and the streets of Ostia and Pompeii.[31] However, at least two of the tombs have their closest parallels in the East, indicating that cultural influences did not only come from the West.[32]

As mentioned earlier, the tombs lined the road to Corinth. Their facades directly faced the road and the funerary road itself was widened. Hellenistic *periboloi* and graves were built over in the process. In fact, we even have evidence for clearance of the Classical and Hellenistic monuments to make room for new tombs.[33] Clearance of older tombs was common practice in the ancient Mediterranean, however, we may also consider the hypothesis that the clearance of the notable core of the Hellenistic cemetery could have been perceived as symbolic violence. With the erection of the monumental tombs the North cemetery gained the appearance of a street of tombs, as known from many Roman cities.[34] The emergence of these large and highly conspicuous funerary structures could not have gone unnoticed in Patras' society and must have evoked responses and debate.

31 Squarciapino (1955); Toynbee (1971); Flämig (2007); Dekoulakou (2009, 165).

32 Flämig (2007).

33 In the North cemetery a heap of Classical and Hellenistic debris was uncovered. The debris, containing architectural members and stelai, was used to fill up the road in the early Roman period, see I.A. Papapostolou, Adelt 31 (1976) Chr. B1, 92–95.

34 Cf. Von Hesberg & Zanker (1987).

The sheer size and quality of the monumental tombs are indicative of the large amounts of time and money that were spent on these burials. This expenditure combined with the conscious choice for the most visible location within the oldest and most prominent cemetery seems to indicate that we are dealing with a form of social competition. By placing enormous tombs between or even on top of the tombs of the pre-colonial period, people were making a visual statement about a replacement the old order with the new. But who were these people? The inscriptions of the period might help us identify the people buried in the cemeteries of the ancient city.

## Funerary Inscriptions

Many epitaphs have been found in Patras, some of them fragmentary, others complete, only a few were preserved *in situ*. Epitaphs contain valuable information about the identity of the deceased, such as name and sex, but in some cases, especially in Roman period epitaphs, additional information is provided such as age, family relations, political offices, professions, or social roles. By studying this information and the changes over time we can get a relatively detailed impression of the deceased, or rather, we can find out which aspects of their identity they considered to be important enough to be written on a permanent and public burial marker.

A mere 28 inscribed burial monuments date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods, with a distinct peak in the period 150–100 BC, i.e. after the destruction of Corinth and the increase in Patras' importance as a port of trade (figure 8.6).

The burial markers that carry these inscriptions vary from fairly simple pillar stelai and rectangular stelai to elaborately carved and painted composite *naiskoi*, indicating a varied range of expenditure. The material of the *stelai* is locally quarried stone, such as limestone and sandstone. Only one stele, imported from Attica, was made of marble. The inscriptions are all written in Greek (figure 8.7) and mention the name, the patronymic, and in some cases the *demotikon* or *ethnikon* of the deceased. The invocation χαῖρε often follows the name. The simplicity of the inscription means that we have no direct evidence in the text for social status or social roles of the deceased. However, the fine quality of most of the stones and their rarity indicate that setting up a stone burial marker was an uncommon thing to do and most likely reserved for the elite.

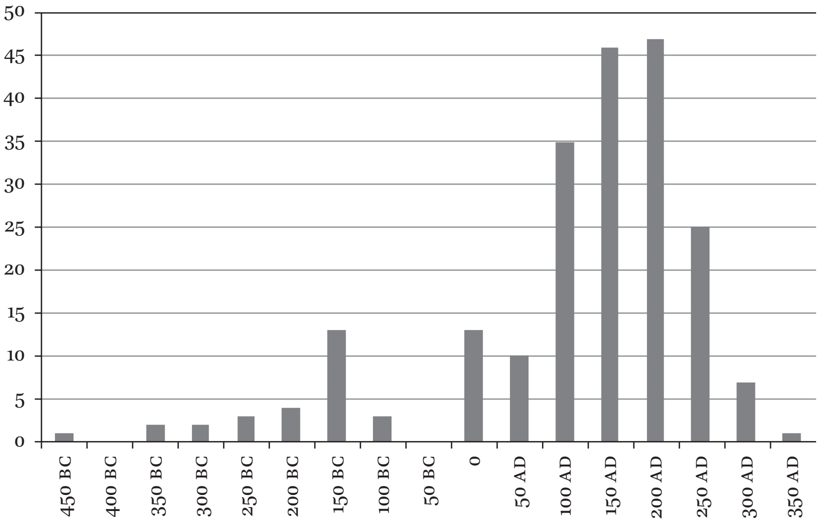


FIGURE 8.6 *Number of epitaphs per period.*

The early Roman period has yielded 78 epitaphs (figure 8.6). The steep and sudden increase in the number of epitaphs indicates a wider availability and/or an increased need for a permanent memorial stone in the cemetery. The inscriptions were written on rectangular slabs that were usually attached to the walls of the tombs. The slabs were made of marble, which was now more readily available because of increased overseas contacts. Almost all of the inscriptions are in Latin and only a small minority is written in Greek (figure 8.7). The Greek inscriptions are the same in style to the Hellenistic inscriptions, but it should be noted that some actually contain a Roman name written in the Greek alphabet.[35] Although this is a very small number, we may still note an interesting process of Greeks adopting Roman formulae and Romans adopting the Greek alphabet.

In the first decades after colonization (ca. 25 BC–25 AD) one group was particularly involved in setting up tombstones with detailed information, namely the veterans of Antony's legions.[36] These military epitaphs show a significant variation in the ranks that the deceased held in the army: soldier, sign-bearer, doctor, centurion, and even a centurion who later became *duumvir* of the

35 E.g. Rizakis (1998, no. 80, 202).

36 Of the thirteen inscriptions dated to this period, ten belong to veterans of the Roman army: Rizakis (1998, no. 125, 142, 151–7, 161). It should be noted, however, that these inscriptions mentioning legionary information are easier to date in comparison to more general inscriptions.

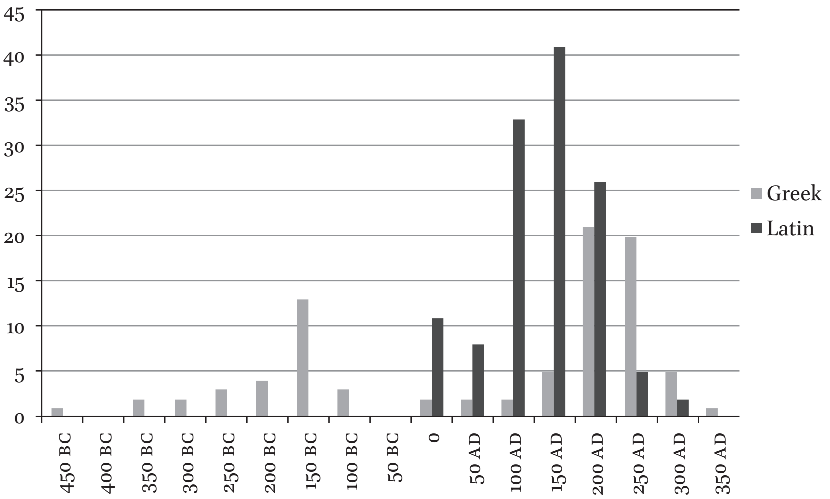


FIGURE 8.7 *Number of Greek and Latin epitaphs per period.*

colony. Although the military status of these veterans varies, there are three things that all of them have in common: 1) they actively profess their membership of the Roman army and in particular Antony's legions, 2) they emphasize their Roman citizenship by using the *tria nomina* and by stating the name of the tribe in which they were enrolled, and 3) they are apparently interested in defining their status and rank distinctions in detail. The other three epitaphs roughly dating to the same period consist of one Latin inscription in honour of a quaestor and *duumvir* of the city, and two Greek inscriptions, one commemorating a Greek woman in the Hellenistic style described above, and one for a Salvios, son of Pankrates, also known as Pompeios, indicating various cultural influences.[37]

In the following decades the veterans disappear from the epitaphs, and there is no evidence of new veterans being settled in Patras. A second stage of the colony is thus entered. Two epitaphs are especially noteworthy in this respect, as they were found in association with tombs in non-local tradition. These inscriptions and the tomb types indicate that we are dealing with important, or at least wealthy, Roman families of the early colony. One of them is an inscription belonging to a tomb in a private cemetery of a villa, which commemorates mother and daughter Pavia and Marcia Maxima (figure 8.8).[38]

37 Rizakis (1998, no. 142, 80, 81).

38 Petropoulos (2007, 193).

FIGURE 8.8 *Funerary portrait of Pavia (Archaeological Museum of Patras, photo author).*

The other commemorates a member of the Aequani family for whom a monumental tomb was set up in the North cemetery. It is possible that these individuals belonged to colonist families, but whether they were traders or were involved in the politics of the colony remains a matter for further study.

The analysis of the epitaphs of the Classical, Hellenistic and early Roman period shows four patterns of change. The first is an overall rise in the number of epitaphs being set up in the cemetery, directly following colonization and especially in the period 25–100 AD. The second pattern is the relative absence of Greek inscriptions in relation to the overwhelming majority of Latin inscriptions. For the entire early Roman period we can count six Greek epitaphs, versus 52 Latin inscriptions, which equals 10 versus 90%. The third pattern is the strong presence of Roman army veterans in the sample. Apparently this group felt a particular need to erect tombstones, with detailed information about their social status, quite possibly to assert their place in society. The final observation is that the epitaphs of the period 25–100 AD are almost exclusively written in Latin and commemorate people with Roman names, and in most cases Roman citizenship.

## Conclusion

The analysis of the archaeological material has shown that with the influx of immigrants new mortuary practices came into use at Patras. This study aimed to understand the ideology behind the choices in funerary forms and practices, and how they functioned in the process of becoming a Roman colony and the integration of Patras in the Roman empire.

We have seen that the preferred location for burial continued to be the North cemetery on the route to Corinth, with a preference for the oldest and most prominent core in close proximity to the city. Local mortuary practices continued to be used, but were overshadowed, often quite literally, by new practices as the cemetery was being used in a new and unseen way. The most notable changes were the conspicuous tombs that were being built, the steep increase in the number of cremations and in the use of epitaphs. The new tomb types were aboveground and together with the increased use of epitaphs, this demonstrates a new interest in permanent visible form of commemoration. The impressive size and quality of the tomb architecture and the effort in making sure that the tombs were unique reflect the large investment of money and time that was spent on these monuments. This indicates that the owners of these tombs not only wanted to be remembered per se, but also, and perhaps more importantly, wanted to be known. These individuals used the cemetery

to its full potential for making claims about their own and their descendants' (aspired) place and role in society.

There is a marked Romanness reflected in the new tombs and epitaphs, cremations, the use of Latin and the explicit and frequent use of the *tria nomina* indicating Roman citizenship. All of these elements combined indicate that the Roman colonists were the main force behind the changes in the cemetery. I would argue that after Patras' transformation into a colony the Roman immigrants greatly impacted the day to day realities of life. The newcomers in Patras claimed their space in the living society by claiming their space in the cemetery, where they imposed themselves visibly and tangibly onto the former Greek *polis*.

It is not, however, simply a matter of Greek versus Roman, of local versus immigrant, or tradition versus innovation. The story is in fact much more nuanced, as the examples of mixed forms in epitaphs, Eastern influences in tomb styles, and the combination of cremation and inhumation within single tombs show. Such mixed forms that occur alongside the typical Greek and Roman customs are of crucial interest as they highlight the cultural debate that was taking place in Patras and its cemeteries.

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CHAPTER 9

# Akkulturation und Integration in der römischen Dobruscha. Das Fallbeispiel der römischen Siedlung Ibida (Slava Rusă) in Rumänien

*Alexander Rubel*

## Einleitung

Die rumänische Dobrudscha (Dobrogea in der Landessprache) ist aus Sicht der klassischen Archäologie die Perle unter den Landschaften Rumäniens. Das Küstengebiet beherbergt nicht nur die ältesten griechischen Siedlungen des Landes, sondern wurde vor allem in der Römerzeit, als das Gebiet (zusammen mit Teilen des nördlichen Bulgarien) als Provinz Moesia Inferior verwaltet wurde, zu einem Mittelpunkt des vom Romanisierungsprozess gekennzeichneten Kulturaustauschs. Die Römer gewannen bereits unter Pompeius und dann seit dem Feldzug des Crassus (29 v. Chr.) immer größeren Einfluss in der Gegend, die dann um die Zeitenwende herum ganz im Römischen Reich aufging, zunächst als östlicher Teil der Provinz Moesia (die zunächst gemeinsam mit der Provinz Macedonia verwaltet wurde), dann nach der Aufteilung der Provinz als eigene Dobrudschaprovinz Moesia Inferior (86 n. Chr.).[1] Aus dieser Zeit zeugen archäologische Funde und Inschriften vom römischen Einfluss auf die einheimische Bevölkerung, in erster Linie und in historischer Zeit zunächst und vor allem Geten und Thraker.[2] Die Region, die ganz anders etwa als das nordwestlich gelegene Dakien durch die griechischen Kolonien bereits stark 'mediterranisiert' war, war jedoch schon immer von unterschiedlichsten kulturellen Traditionen geprägt und beherbergte viele Völker und Stämme.

Dies gilt übrigens bis heute: die Dobrudscha ist diejenige Region Rumäniens, die über das vielfältigste Minderheitenspektrum des Landes verfügt. Neben

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1 Barnea & Suceveanu (1991).

2 Zu Geten und Thrakern siehe etwa Oppermann (1984); Suceveanu & Barnea (1991); Engels (1998, sp. 563–8).

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Türken, Roma, Armeniern und Tartaren sind es v.a. die russischstämmigen Lipowaner, die der Landschaft ihr ethnographisch interessantes Gepräge geben. Diese 'Multikulturalität', die die moderne Dobrudscha prägt, wird man nur mit Vorbehalt auch auf die Antike übertragen können. In jedem Falle war die Wahrnehmung dieser vielen Völkerschaften, die sich in der klassischen Antike in diesem Raum bemerkbar machten, durch die Römer wohl eine andere, weniger positive. So war der Dichter Ovid, der im Jahre 8 n. Chr., also noch vor der Provinzialisierung, als Rom jedoch *de facto* schon die Herrschaft in der Region übernommen hatte, nach Tomis (das heutige Constanţa) verbannt worden war, wenig erbaut von den 'Barbaren', mit denen er nun den Lebensraum teilte: So ätzte er in den *Tristia* über die von unterschiedlichen Völkern bewohnte Region: 'Man soll wissen, dass ich in barbarischen Landen weile, unter Sternen, die niemals das Meer berühren, rings umgeben von Sarmaten, einem wilden Stamm, Bessen und Geten, Völker und Namen, die zu erwähnen unter meiner Würde ist'.[3]

Während der römischen Herrschaft, die in der Spätantike durch die Dominanz Konstantinopels eine geographische Verschiebung erfuhr, war die Region ein ständiger Unruheherd. Einfälle von nördlich der Donau hausenden Stämmen, aber auch die beginnende Völkerwanderung, die mit dem Einfall der Goten und der Schlacht bei Adrianopel (378) einen ersten Höhepunkt erreichte, waren neben friedlichen Formen des Kulturaustauschs verantwortlich für ständige Migration. Archäologisch lassen sich diesbezüglich einige interessante Befunde, v.a. für die Spätantike, am Fallbeispiel der römischen Siedlung Ibida aufzeigen.

## Geschichte der Siedlung Ibida

Die bei Prokop erwähnte Stadt Ibida wurde bereits von Vasile Pârvan mit dem heutigen, mehrheitlich von Lipowanern bewohnten Dorf Slava Rusă identifiziert.[4] Das Dorf liegt malerisch im Tal des Flüsschens Slava, das südlich von Jurilovca in den mit dem Schwarzen Meer verbundenen Lagunensee 'Lacul Razelm' mündet (Fig. 9.1).

Das Dorf gehört heute als Ortsteil zur Verbandsgemeinde (comună) Slava Cercheză. Der antike Name der Siedlung ist nicht ganz eindeutig zu bestimmen; Ibida, wie bei Prokop verzeichnet, oder Libida, abgeleitet von einer

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3 Ovid. *Trist.* 3.10.3–6: *suppositum stellis numquam tangentibus aequor/ me sciat in media uiuere barbaria./ Sauromatae cingunt, fera gens, Bessique Getaeque,/ quam non ingenio nomina digna meo!*

4 Proc. *De aed.* 4.7.19. Siehe Pârvan (1912, 578, 585, 599).

FIGURE 9.1 *Karte der Provinz Moesia Inferior (Zeichnung Ştefan Caliniuc).*

Stelle bei Theophylactos Simokates, der den Ortsnamen als Λιβιδινῶν πόλιν wiedergibt.[5] Seit 1897, als Polonic die Ruinen der damals noch nicht identifizierten Siedlung in einem Bericht erwähnte, wurde dort nur sporadisch sondiert und gegraben,[6] bis zunehmende Erosion und mit Metalldetektoren ausgestattete, immer dreister werdende Raubgräber eine systematische Ausgrabung der Siedlung erforderlich machten, zumal es sich bei der in den Quellen nur unzureichend beschriebenen Siedlung um eine durchaus bedeutende antike Stadt handelt, die mit über 24 ha Fläche, die größtenteils durch dickes (allerdings spätantikes) Mauerwerk geschützt wurde, immerhin zu den größten Festungen der Dobrudscha gehört (Fig. 9.2).

Unter Federführung des Museums Tulcea und unter Beteiligung von Wissenschaftlern aus Bukarest und Iaşi wird deshalb in Slava Rusă seit 2001 systematisch gegraben. Leider ist bislang nur wenig Material publiziert

5 Proc. *Hist.* 1.8. Zur Namensproblematik siehe die Diskussionen bei: Aricescu (1971, 58–60); gegen Doruţiu-Boilă (1979, 145–9); vgl. auch Aricescu (1977, 149–51), zuletzt Madgearu (1999, 310–11). Die Textstelle bei: De Boor (1887); deutsche Übersetzung Schreiner (1985).

6 Ştefan et al. (1954, 110, 112, fig. 33–6); Opaiţ, Opaiţ & Bănică (1990, 18–28); Opaiţ (1991, 21–56). Sehr nützlich sind immer noch die Luftbildaufnahmen von Ştefan (1977, 3–22).

FIGURE 9.2 *Zeichnung nach Luftbildinterpretation von A.S. Ştefan (mit freundlicher Genehmigung).*

worden, v.a. noch keine systematisch orientierte Monographie, was angesichts der kurzen Zeitspanne seit Beginn der Grabungen durchaus verständlich ist.[7] Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint der für diesen Beitrag gewählte Titel geradezu maßlos. Dennoch möchte ich an dieser Stelle auf einige allgemeine Apekte von Migration und Kulturaustausch zu sprechen kommen, die sich auch auf anthropologische Untersuchungen stützen können.[8] Jedoch beschränkt sich dieser Beitrag angesichts der noch am Beginn stehenden Erforschung der Siedlung auf eine allgemeine und damit recht oberflächliche Darstellung der bisherigen Ausgrabungsergebnisse, ohne indes den detaillierten Grabungsberichten und Detailstudien, die für die nächsten Jahre angekündigt sind, vorzugreifen.

7 Die Grabungsleitung liegt in den Händen von Mihaela Iacob vom Museum in Tulcea. Kurze Grabungsberichte in rumänischer Sprache finden sich in den Bänden 2002–2014 der Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, jeweils unter dem Eintrag 'Salva Rusă, com. Slava Cerceză, jud. Tulcea [Ibida]'. Diese sind auch im Internet unter www.cimec.ro/a_arheologie.htm zugänglich. Siehe auch: Mihailescu-Bîrliba (2003, 341–8). Neuere Arbeiten zu Einzelaspekten (Epigraphik, Keramik, Numismatik, Anthropologie etc.) sind etwas folgende (selektiv nenne ich hier nur die neueren Arbeiten): Paraschiv (2010); Iacob (2011); Mihailescu-Bîrliba (2011); Aparaschivei et al. (2012); Rubel & Soficaru (2012).

8 Miriţoiu & Soficaru (2003); Soficaru et al. (2004). Zu Akkulturation allgemein der theoretische Aufsatz von Gotter (2000).

Angesichts der schlechten Quellenlage (Ibida wird ja nur von zwei Autoren beiläufig erwähnt) können indes nur archäologische Befunde für diese Untersuchung herangezogen werden und diese sind bekanntermaßen sehr beschränkt in ihrer Aussagekraft über soziale Verhältnisse oder ethnische Strukturen.[9] Dennoch lassen sich doch einige Erkenntnisse aus dem bereits vorliegenden Material gewinnen, die ich im Folgenden kursorisch vorstellen möchte.

Die Funde aus Slava Rusă und Umgebung lassen sich bis ins Paläolithikum zurückverfolgen.[10] Jedoch gewinnt der Platz erst mit dem zunehmenden Einfluss der Römer in der Region und erst recht mit der Provinzialisierung Moesiens an Bedeutung, was sich in einer höheren Funddichte beginnend mit dem ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert niederschlägt. Römische Waren, Keramik, Glaswaren, besonders aber Münzen aus der frühen Prinzipatszeit sind reichlich repräsentiert und die letzten Kampagnen haben noch mehr interessantes Material hervorgebracht. Besonders die zuletzt (2007) gefundenen republikanischen Münzen, aber auch Amphorenfunde verweisen auf eine frühe Einbindung Ibidas in weiter reichende Handelsbeziehungen.[11] Einige wenige Inschriften aus der Kaiserzeit haben sich erhalten, sie wurden bereits lange vor den systematischen Ausgrabungen entdeckt, da es sich meist um Spolien handelte.[12] Aus diesen wenigen bislang gefundenen Grabinschriften ergibt sich, dass eine romano-thrakische Mischbevölkerung während der Kaiserzeit den Platz bewohnt haben muss, da sowohl lateinische als auch thrakische Namen belegt sind. Allerdings lässt die Zufälligkeit und geringe Zahl der Zeugnisse keine weiteren Schlüsse, etwa auf den Grad der Romanisierung oder die ethnische Zusammensetzung, zu.[13] Erschwert wird die Situation dadurch, dass – wie bei allen Fundplätzen in der Dobrudscha – die Zerstörungshorizonte des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., denen ein umfassender

9 Dazu detailliert Brather (2000; 2003; 2005). Diese Artikel jetzt in einem Band zugänglich: Brather (2008).

10 Doboş, Iacob & Paraschiv (2005).

11 Die Hinweise zu den Münzen verdanke ich M. Iacob und L. Munteanu. Zu den Amphoren siehe jetzt umfassend: Paraschiv (2006) (mit engl. Zusammenfassung). Neuer Arbeiten zu den spätantiken Münzen von Iacob (2009). Zu den Handelsbeziehungen siehe: Paraschiv (2013). Weitere Arbeiten, auch zur Keramik, siehe Anm. 7.

12 ISM V. 225–232. Allgemein zu den Inschriften Mihailescu-Bîrliba (Anm. 7).

13 Die bekannten Grabinschriften aus Ibida (ISM V. 225–232), allesamt aus dem zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert, verzeichnen römische (3) und thrakische (2) Namensträger (bei 231 u. 232 sind die Namen nicht erhalten), jedoch ohne militärischen Kontext. Insgesamt haben wir also Belege für fünf 'Römer' und zwei 'Thraker'.

Wiederaufbau folgte, stratigraphische Erkenntnisse über frühere Phasen nahezu unmöglich macht.[14]

Weitere in jüngster Zeit gewonnene Erkenntnisse, die auf eine relativ hohe Bedeutung der Siedlung bereits während der Prinzipatszeit hinweisen – etwa ein neues Militärdiplom sowie die Besitzermarke eines Soldaten – lassen die Vermutung plausibel erscheinen, dass Ibida in der Kaiserzeit auch Standort einer römischen Militäreinheit gewesen war.[15] Für weitere Präzisierungen, etwa, ob es sich dabei um eine Auxiliareinheit oder die Vexillation einer Legion gehandelt haben könnte, ist es jedoch angesichts der Singularität der Funde noch zu früh. Trotz dieser vielfältigen Anzeichen, die auf eine bedeutende Entwicklung bereits während der ersten drei Jahrhunderte n. Chr. verweisen, schien bislang besonders die Zeit der Spätantike eine Blütezeit für Ibida gewesen zu sein.

Nicht nur die imposanten Befestigungsmauern verdanken sich dem 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert, auch der größte Teil der bisherigen (Münz-)Funde wird eher später datiert.[16] In der Spätantike, v.a. zur Zeit Iustinians, war Ibida, wie die Münzfunde nahe legen, offenbar ein prosperierender Handelsplatz, der von seiner günstigen Lage an einer wichtigen Straße profitierte, die von Noviodunum über Tropaeum Traiani bis nach Konstantinopel führte.[17] Darüber hinaus verweist der in den 80er Jahren ausgegrabene Klosterkomplex, 2 km südlich der befestigten Stadt, auf ein monastisches Zentrum aus dem ausgehenden 6. beginnenden 7. Jahrhundert von nicht geringer Bedeutung.[18] Die Siedlung selbst entstand wohl bereits in der frühen Prinzipatszeit, wobei auffällige Renovierungsarbeiten der Verteidigungsanlagen in die Zeit der Tetrarchie (Konstantin d. Gr. – Licinius) fielen, damals wurden die massiven Mauern erreichtet, die noch heute den Besucher der Stätte beeindrucken (Abb. 9.3 und 9.4).

Ein Meilenstein gibt uns darüber hinaus an, dass zur Zeit der Kaiser Maximinus und Maximus Wege und Brücken erneuert worden sind (ISM V. 223). Zu Zeiten Justinians, so lässt uns Prokop wissen, wurden in Ibida im Rahmen der Konsolidierung der Donaugrenze erneut bauliche Renovierungsmaßnahmen

14 Paraschiv, Mocanu & Chiriac (2010).

15 Rubel (2008). Siehe auch Mihailescu-Bîrliba (2008).

16 Iacob (2002; 2005). Siehe auch Anm. 7 und 11.

17 Zum Straßennetz in der Dobrudscha siehe Aricescu (1977, 134–78), sowie Bărbulescu & Câteia (1998).

18 Opaiţ (1990). Die Überreste des Klosters wurden 2007 von den Bulldozern eines französischen Agrarinvestors ‘aus Versehen’ dem Erdboden gleich gemacht.

FIGURE 9.3 *Nördliche Festungsmauer, spätrömisch* (*Stand 2012, Foto: Mihaela Iacob*).

FIGURE 9.4 *Turm Nr. 8, Teil der nördlichen Festungsmauer* (*Stand 2012, Foto: Mihaela Iacob*).

an den Befestigungsmauern eingeleitet, so dass Ibida wieder eine 'starke Stadt' wurde (τοῦ περιβόλου πολλὰ ἐπέπονθει).[19]

## Schädeldeformationen in den Gräbern von Ibida

Die bislang eindrucksvollsten Funde, die durch die Grabungen seit 2001 zu Tage getreten sind, stammen aus der riesigen Nekropole, die sich westlich der Siedlung über eine noch nicht genau vermessene Fläche erstreckt und bereits die Skelette von über 150 Individuen preisgegeben hat. Nach Schätzung der Anthropologen dürfte das hügelige Gelände bis zu 5000 Bestattungen enthalten (Abb. 9.5).

Trotz der Tatsache, dass die Mehrzahl der hier Bestatteten Christen waren und die meisten der bislang dokumentierten Gräber in das 4.–6. Jahrhundert zu datieren sind, wurde eine ganze Reihe von Objekten bei den Toten gefunden (meist kleinere Schmuckgegenstände, kaum umfangreiche Grabbeigaben). Einige früher datierte Gräber enthalten indes auch etwas

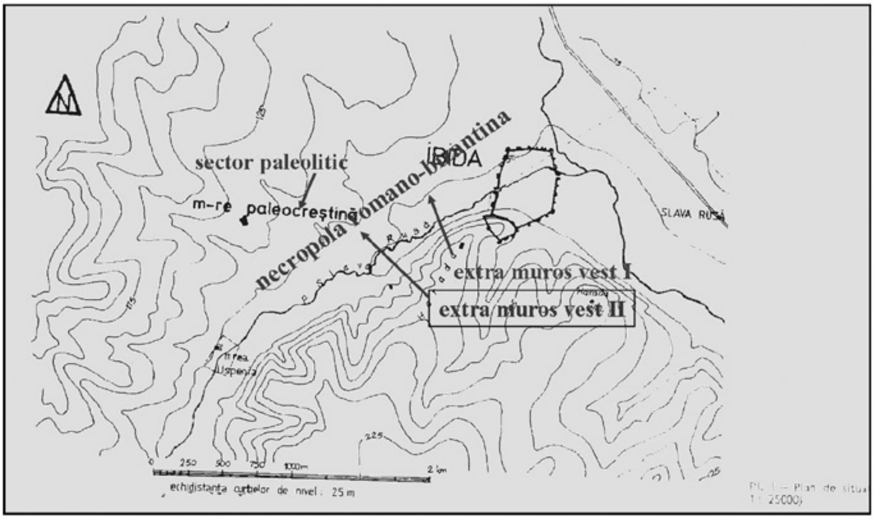


FIGURE 9.5 *Skizze des Untersuchungsgebiets im Umkreis der Siedlung (Zeichnung: Mihaela Iacob).*

19 Proc. *De aed.* 4.7.19.

umfangreichere Beigaben (meist Keramik) wie Öllampen, Töpfe, Becher aber auch Schmuckgegenstände oder Münzen. Auch die anthropologischen Untersuchungen haben einige wichtige Erkenntnisse gebracht (dazu unten mehr). Die 'Sensation', wenn man das so sagen darf, stellt indes die Auffindung eines Kammergrabs mit Gewölbe aus dem 4.–6. Jahrhunderts dar (Abb. 9.6 und 9.7).[20]

Im aus Steinblöcken und Ziegeln gemauerten Familiengrab (4,5 × 3,5 m, Höhe: 1,92 m), das von einem bereits lange vor der Entdeckung eingestürzten Gewölbe überdacht wurde, fanden sich die Überreste von mindestens 39 Individuen, 10 Kinder (Typ Infans 1 und 2) und 29 Erwachsene, 13 Männer, 16 Frauen (auffällig das Fehlen Jugendlicher).[21] Der aus Dromos und Grabkammer bestehende Grabkomplex findet in der Dobrudscha allein in den Grabfunden von Tomis, Callatis und Noviodunum Entsprechungen. Zweifellos war er die Grablege einer einflussreichen Familie, die zur Oberschicht Ibidas gehörte.

FIGURE 9.6 *Kammergrab (Detailansicht Dromos). Foto: Mihaela Iacob.*

20 Die bislang vorliegenden Erkenntnisse *sv*. Slava Rusă in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din Romania, Campania 2001* (Bucharest 2002), 293 (http://www.archweb.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2002/rapoarte/default.htm ), zu den anthropologischen Befunden Miriţoiu & Soficaru (2003). Sowie umfassend zuletzt die Monographie von Soficaru (2012).

21 Miriţoiu & Soficaru (2003, 511–14).

FIGURE 9.7 *Kammergrab (Grabkammer, Befund bei Ausgrabung 2001). Foto: Mihaela Iacob.*

Leider wurde die Grabkammer, in der sich Reste von Fresken erhalten haben, bereits in der Antike (mehrfach?) beraubt. Dennoch erlauben die wenigen im Grab verbliebenen Fundstücke (Lampen, zwei Münzen, eine aus dem 4. eine aus dem 5. Jahrhundert, zwei Gürtelschnallen, Kämme aus Bein) die Schlussfolgerung, dass das Familiengrab zwischen dem 4. und dem Anfang des 7. Jahrhundert genutzt wurde.[22] Gemäß des anthropologischen Befundes weisen die zur Untersuchung geeigneten Schädelreste Ähnlichkeiten auf, die auf verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen den in diesem Grab bestatteten Individuen nahelegen.[23] Die anfänglich von den Anthropologen geäußerte Vermutung, die männlichen Individuen aus dem Grab entstammten aufgrund der Ähnlichkeiten der lokalen Oberschichtsfamilie, die das Grab angelegt hatte, während die meisten Frauen aufgrund geringerer kranialer Übereinstimmungen eher eingeheiratet haben müssten, wurde zuletzt von A. Soficaru aufgrund des unzureichenden Materials verworfen.[24] Leider

22 *Cronica 2001*, 293.

23 Persönliche Mitteilung von A. Soficaru.

24 Mitteilung von A. Soficaru vom 11.4.2008.

ermöglichen die begrenzten Mittel keine DNA-Untersuchungen, um hier für weitere Klärung zu sorgen.

Regelrecht Rätsel geben aber die Funde des großen Gräberfeldes (necropola IV) westlich der Siedlungsmauern auf. Die römisch byzantinische Nekropole, deren Gräber sich auf das 4. bis zum beginnenden 7. Jahrhundert datieren lassen, brachte, seit dort ab dem Jahr 2002 Grabungen (wegen sintflutartiger Regenfälle zunächst Notgrabungen) durchgeführt wurden, über 150 Gräber zu Tage. Abgesehen von allerlei Kleinfunden waren es aber vor allem die Erkenntnisse der Anthropologen, die Fragen aufwarfen. Bei sieben Individuen (überwiegend weiblich) ließ sich absichtliche Schädeldeformation (sog. 'Turmschädel') nachweisen.[25] Eine Sitte, die etwa bei den Steppennomaden im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum beliebt war und die von den Hunnen und den mit ihnen verbundenen Stämmen bis hin nach Mitteleuropa (Böhmen, Bayern, Österreich) gebracht wurde und auch dort Anhänger fand.[26] Miriţoiu, der als Anthropologe mehrfach an den Ausgrabungen in Ibida teilgenommen hat, widmete diesen absichtlichen Schädeldeformationen seine Dissertation, die – leider noch unveröffentlicht – als zukünftiges Referenzwerk zu diesem Thema betrachtet werden muss.[27] Miriţoiu konnte 111 dieser deformierten Schädel aus Rumänien (etwa 70% aller derartiger Funde) untersuchen, ein repräsentativer Teil davon (42 Schädel[fragmente]) stammen aus der Dobrudscha. Die aus Ibida stammenden Exemplare bestätigen jedoch, dass eine ethnische Identifikation kaum wirklich möglich ist. Während man bei Schädelfunden aus dem 1.–3. Jahrhundert aus anderen Grabungen schnell auf die Sarmaten verweisen kann,[28] wird eine ethnische Identifizierung der Bewohner Ibidas mit deformiertem Schädel schwieriger.

Die *communis opinio* unter den Spezialisten auf diesem Gebiet besagt, dass die Sitte der deformierten Schädel ausschließlich unter (Halb-)

25 M(ormint) 21, M 44, M 80, M 119b, M 122, M 133, sowie eine 2001 ohne Kontext gefundenes unmarkiertes Schädelfragment. Information von A. Soficaru.

26 E.g. Winkler & Jungwirth (1978); allgemein: Dingwall, *Artificial Cranial Deformation* (1931); siehe auch: Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (2007).

27 Miriţoiu (2005). Ich danke dem Autor für die freundliche Überlassung des unpublizierten Manuskripts. Für die hier präsentierte Fragestellung siehe bes. den allgemeinen Teil zur Tradition der Schädeldeformation (43–140) sowie die Schlussfolgerungen (151–4). Zu Ibida bes. 257–60.

28 Auch hierbei scheint mir höchste Vorsicht geboten. Ethnische Zuweisungen ohne quellengestütze Hinweise sind auch im Falle der Sitte der künstlich deformierten Schädel und ihrer unstreitigen Zugehörigkeit zu den Nomadenvölkern der Steppe und ihrer (germanischen) Nachbarn immer etwas problematisch. Grundsätzlich zum Problem Ethnizität in der Archäologie: Brather (2008).

Nomadenvölkern wie den Sarmaten, Alanen, Gepiden, Hunnen, Roxolanen oder Protobulgaren verbreitet war und von den autochthonen Bevölkerungen in Ost- und Mitteleuropa nicht übernommen worden war.[29] Im Bereich der Dobrudscha lassen sich einige der Schädelfunde aus dem 2.–3. Jahrhundert (bei Histria) aufgrund der Grabbeigaben klar den Sarmaten zuordnen.[30] Für die Schädelfunde aus dem 4.–6. Jahrhundert in der Dobrudscha, zu denen sich neben den genannten Turmschädeln aus Ibida auch solche aus Histria, Callatis und Piatra Frecăţei gesellen, sieht der Befund indes etwas anders aus. Die betreffenden Gräber unterscheiden sich durch nichts von den übrigen Gräbern der gleichen Nekropolen aus der gleichen Zeitspanne.[31] Handelte es sich bei den Betreffenden vielleicht um Alanen oder um Sarmaten, wie Miriţoiu als Möglichkeit andeutet? Aus seiner Sicht erscheint jedoch ein Sachverhalt fest zu stehen, auch wenn sich letztendlich über die ethnische Zugehörigkeit wenig sagen lässt: ‘Diese Gräber repräsentieren ein besonderes, von der multiethnischen, urbanen Bevölkerung der pontischen Städte zu differenzierendes, ethnisches Substrat, das gut in das wirtschaftliche, soziale und religiöse Leben dieser Gemeinden integriert war’.[32] Handelt es sich bei den ‘Sarmaten’ (bzw. ‘Sarmatinnen’, denn weibliche Turmschädel bilden – sofern eine geschlechtliche Zuordnung überhaupt möglich war – die Mehrheit) aus Ibida nun um Nachfahren von Einwanderern aus früherer Zeit (3. Jahrhundert), die, wiewohl integriert, noch mehrere Generationen später ihre Traditionen beibehalten haben? Oder müssen die Funde als Reflex einer weiteren (oder mehrerer?) sarmatischer Immigrationswellen gedeutet werden?[33]

## Schlussfolgerungen

Diese Frage lässt sich natürlich vor dem Hintergrund der bescheidenen Quellenlage nicht beantworten. Jedoch scheint die zweite Variante, die Miriţoiu nicht ausschließt, doch eher unwahrscheinlich, da außer den Schädelfunden in der Dobrudscha keine weiteren Belege für Einwanderung von Sarmaten

29 Miriţoiu (2005, 153). Vgl. auch Werner (1956); Kiszely (1978); sowie den grundlegenden Artikel von Alt (2004).

30 Miriţoiu (2005, 153). Zu den Sarmaten an der unteren Donau und in anderen Kontaktzonen siehe v.a. die Arbeiten von Bichir (1972; 1976; 1977; 1993; 1996). Allgemein mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben: Eggers & Ioniţă (2004). Zuletzt Bârcă (2013).

31 Miriţoiu (2005, 133).

32 ‘[A]şa cum se prezintă lucrurile, aceste morminte reprezintă o componentă etnică distinctă a populaţiei urbane multietnice din cetăţile pontice, bine inserată în viaţa economică, socială şi spirituală a comunităţilor respective’, Miriţoiu (2005, 153, vgl. 133).

33 Miriţoiu (2005, 153).

(oder anderen Stämmen aus dem nordpontischen Raum) in dieser Periode vorliegen. Eher als die von Miriţoiu favorisierten Sarmaten könnte man noch die Hunnen in Betracht ziehen, die sich im 5. Jahrhundert unter Attilas Sohn Ernak zeitweise in der (südlicheren) Dobrudscha niedergelassen haben.[34] Aber auch dies ist angesichts fehlender Belege blanke Spekulation. Die erste Vermutung Miriţoius kann indes angesichts der bekanntermaßen multiethnischen Struktur der westpontischen Städte in römisch-byzantinischer Zeit durchaus bestehen und einiges an Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich beanspruchen.[35] Ibida, so kann das etwas spekulative Schlusswort lauten, war also in der Spätantike eine prosperierende und aufnahmefreudige Stadt, die Neubürger aus der Steppe integrierte, wobei diese noch längere Zeit ihre Traditionen pflegen konnten.

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34 Iordanes *Get.* 266. Siehe Altheim (1969–75; Bd. 1, 18–20; Bd. IV, 339–40). Siehe auch Werner (1956). Für die Kontaktzonen auf heute rumänischem Gebiet: *Istoria Românilor*, 693–707 (L. Bârzu).

35 Allgemein zur (multi)ethnischen Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung der Dobrudscha in römischer Zeit können folgende Arbeiten konsultiert werden: Vulpe (1968, 38–42; siehe auch speziell zu den Sarmaten die genannten Arbeiten von Bichir. Weiter Popescu (1982). Zur vorrömischen Zeit: Irimia (1984). Übersichtliche Zusammenstellung mit weiterer Literatur in: *Istoria Românilor*, 307–21 (Al. Sucevanu); sowie 617–37 (I. Ioniţă).

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CHAPTER 10

# Roman Exploitation and New Road Infrastructures in *Asturia Transmontana* (Asturias, Spain)

*Patricia A. Argüelles Álvarez*

## Introduction

The northwest of Hispania was the last part of the Iberian Peninsula conquered by the Romans, when the independence of the Asturian-Cantabrian territory ended with the victory of Rome in the wars of 29–19 BC. The victory of Rome changed the landscape and the administration of the Asturian area, and had an important impact on the pre-Roman '*castros* culture', named after the typical Asturian dwelling.[1]

FIGURE 10.1 *Area of study:* Asturia Transmontana *area, Northern Hispania.*

1 Gutiérrez (1987, 329–35).

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The *conventus Asturum*, which included *Asturia transmontana* and *Asturia cismontana*, contained a large number of Roman roads. Their primary use was for military purposes, as is confirmed by the presence of the newly discovered Roman camps at the sites of Moyapán and Vallado. As Roman dominance continued, Asturias became an exit to the sea for the Empire, as well as providing good communication routes between coastal and inland Hispania, especially the area around León. The Roman impact on the landscape of Western Asturia is clear; at the same time the area shows a more complex cultural and economic configuration than was assumed until recently.[2] This article will investigate how the roads built by the Romans opened up the region and facilitated the exploitation of its natural resources. This, in time, would have important consequences for the political structure, economy, and culture of the local population.

Several Greek and Latin authors, e.g. Strabo and Pliny the Elder, speak highly of the mining works carried out by Romans in the West of the Iberian Peninsula, specifically in Asturia and Gallaecia. The main areas of mineral concentration in the *conventus Asturum* were the Suevan mountain range, the Narcea Valley, the Pigüeña Valley, the Naranco area, Teverga, and some areas on the central coast. Since pre-Roman times these mines had been worked by natives for the day to day needs of the local communities. They met their needs with small mining operations for tin or by looking for gold nuggets from the river. Because of the mineral wealth of the territory, Rome made great effort to increase the mining output in Western Asturias. The modification of the pre-Roman landscape involved, for example, the drilling of tunnels and canals, the creation of horizontal and vertical mine shafts, and the building of roads adapted to this type of exploitation.[3]

Melting furnaces, slags, and cupels have been attested, as well as evidence of moulds, remains of alloys, traces of canals, and drilling through the mountains. This makes it possible to investigate how the Asturian landscape was adapted to the Roman industrial pattern. Although gold mining has received most of the scholarly attention, there is also much evidence for the mining of copper, lead, silver, zinc, and, in smaller amounts, iron and tin.[4] Archaeological excavations in the late-twentieth century have shed more light on the mining activity in the region and its relation to the Asturian hill forts.[5]

2 Fanjul (2004, 58).

3 Gutiérrez et al. (1999).

4 Sánchez (1995, 142–3).

5 Maya & Cuesta (2001).

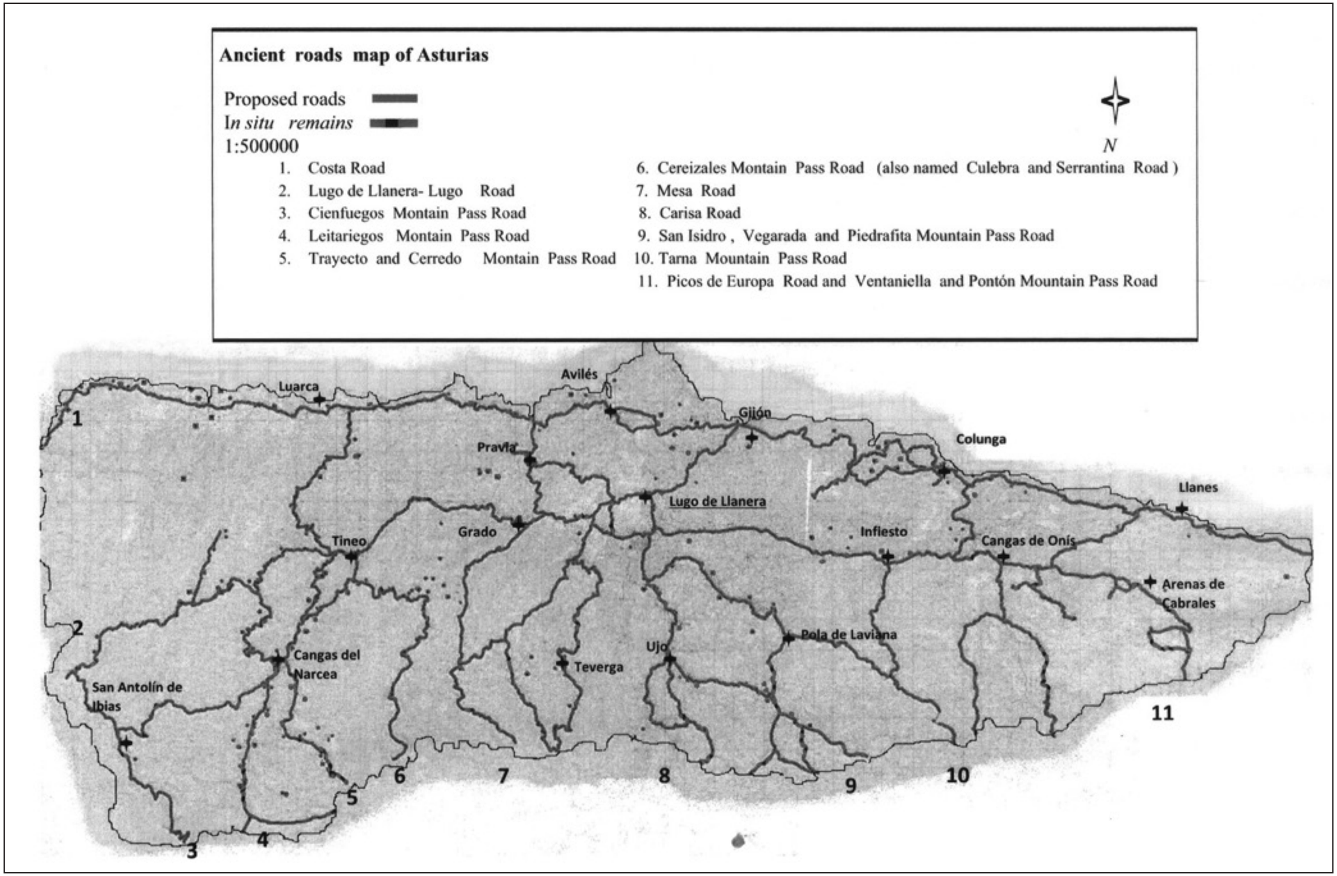


FIGURE 10.2 *Map of the main roads in the Asturian area.*

### Mining Works and Road Networks

The road connecting the capital of *Lucus Asturum* (present Lugo de Llanera) to the Gallaecian *Lucus Augusti* (Lugo) shows in its route through the Western Asturian area a clear intention to create communication routes between the different mining areas (figure 10.2).[6] Several branch roads lead into the mining territory, for example the road from Berducedo to Bustantigo, the road to Arganza, and the route to Navelgas.[7] In the surroundings of Pola de Allande the Roman pathway, known as the *Trayecto*, after going through Cangas de Narcea, meets the route to *Lucus Augusti* at the Palo mountain range. A large concentration of mines operating in this area in Roman and pre-Roman times has been found (figure 10.3).

To the south of Salas, a town also connected by this route, the mines of Godán and Ablaneda and those of Carlés and El Courio have been found.[8] In the case of the Navelgas mines, some remains of paving that might belong to an old road have been attested. This path, of a possible Roman date, leads up to

FIGURE 10.3 *Detailed map of one of the Roman roads in Pola de Allande council, with closed Roman mines (circled).*

6 Argüelles (2011).

7 Santos (2002, 259–387); Ortíz (2008, 78–81).

8 Fanjul & Menéndez (2007, 79–94).

these mines from the town of Tineo. Given the high number of mining sites, which would have been very interesting to the Romans, this new pathway seems to have been created as a secondary branch road, dedicated solely to the transportation of material taken from the mines of the area.

Close to the main road were also the mines of Fana la Freita, the Xuan Rata cave (figure 10.4), and the Las Mujeres Muertas pit. Some of the most important mines in this area are those named El Corralín and El Larón (figure 10.5). The Trayecto, which served for the transport of goods in this area of western Asturias, was located near the dividing line between the cismontane and transmontane areas.

The Corralín working sites are covered with thick vegetation, which restricts a direct survey on the ground. The area consists of several mines, such as the A Basancada, a cutting far up the front of the hillside above the Ibias river, running north to south. This cutting starts from a canal, the relation of which to the mining site seems clear. On the other side, it is very close to the Carcabón working site, which is shaped as a set of straight canals branching out at

FIGURE 10.4 *Roman gold mining at Xuan Rata cave, Allande; this is the southernmost location marked on figure 3.*

FIGURE 10.5 *Roman opencast exploitation at Fana la Freita, Allande, near the Xuan Rata pit.*

different heights on the working site. Another site is the Rellampada pit, which opens on the left bank of the Corralín river. This river is also connected to a group of canals that provide this mine with water. The last working site is the Furacón rock, with a little mine named the Forno.

The Leitariegos pathway, running along the Naviego valley, facilitated the exploitation of the territory in the first and second centuries AD. This valley was occupied by a large number of hill forts, more than 30 of them, as well as more than 20 mines. This means that many hill forts were reused in the Roman era, and therefore that their inhabitants may have been involved in mining works in the area. For example, Castillos de La Pescal and Castrinos de Niceto were directly associated with the Roman layout of the landscape. In this area the Larón Muriacales mines were very important in the Roman period, as is shown by the presence of an 'ore dump' of quartzite pebbles, a result of the intense working of the mines. The ores from this area were hauled along the Leitariegos pathway to Astorga. Another archaeological site which has been related to this route and possibly operated at the same time are the Marueco mines.

Not all mines are easily dated to the Roman period, however. At the nearby village of Oballo there are remains of old mines, known as La Fana; these

consist of an opencast cutting front located on the right bank of the Muniellos river. It measures 150 meters long by 125 meters wide, but no associated hydraulic infrastructure is evident.

The Arganza mines are located on the southern side of the Las Lamas range, on the edge of the Viar brook, a tributary of the Arganza river. The working sites are shell-shaped with two independent catchments at the bottom. No remains of auxiliary water facilities are known, but these were surely necessary for working the mine. Associated to this mining site seems to have been the Arganza hill fort. It is located at the bottom of the Las Llamas range, in the valley of the Arganza river. Nowadays it has thick vegetation, but a gathering pit can be detected on a spur scarcely 10 meters long, which perhaps remained after a possible levelling of the ground. A second gathering pit can be distinguished, but the period of use could not be determined.

It seems that one of the main purposes of the so-called Serrantina route was the transportation of ores, given the importance of the mining sites it reaches. Less than 3 kilometres to the north of Boinás are the Begega gold mines. From here a canal allows the gold to be carried away, by using the mild slope of the canal. This reached Boinás at a distance of 17 kilometres from the junction with the pathway to Leitariegos, and continued in a southerly direction. The Begega range shows a large number of openwork mining sites already in use in the Roman period, among which we must name La Alvariza, at Las Cárcabas. This mining site is located to the northwest of the Begega range. Here, however, there is no evidence of an associated road network. On the other side of the Begega range, the Valle gold mine is known under several names in the literature: Valle, Canal, Barricada, Campona, Peñas, or Surcos. A network of canals above the Valle, running towards Begega, connected these pits.[9] Furthermore, there is the Prau Segunda site, near the other sites of the Valle. Remains here include a short section of a very deep canal, which is now reused as a local road from Las Caolinas to Prau Segunda, from where it climbs up to El Valle village.

As for the route to the Picos de Europa mountains, it is certain that the Romans developed this pathway with military purposes in mind towards the end of the Cantabrian wars. The antiquity of this road was already acknowledged by Delgado, who attributed it to the Roman period, because it is located in an area that was important in this phase of the Cantabrian Wars, and because of its connections to the mining at Portudela.[10] This road is also related to the copper mines in this area at Hoyos de Alda, Delfina, and El Milagro (e.g. the Canales, Ortiguero, La Molin, and Avín sites).

9 Maya (1990).

10 Delgado (1924, 35; 2010, 30–42); Martínez (1989, 15–66).

The coastal pathway connects the Basque lands to the Galician area and would centuries later become the main road to Santiago de Compostela. It facilitated the haulage of the output from the Caravia mines, as well as from the Suevan close veins, these places showing the earliest signs of mining activity.[11] This route was not designed with the purpose of facilitating transport to and from the mines; therefore, its design was not influenced by its economic setting, but by the geographical situation along the coast. However, evidence exists for several branch roads leading towards the inland parts of the region, which certainly were associated with the Roman trade in metal.

In conclusion, it is clear that different mines operating already in the Roman period dot the landscape, mines which stimulated the economy of the western section of the Asturian region. These allow us to ascertain how the area was populated and what its settlement structure may have looked like.

## Conclusion

The relevance of the mining sectors reflects the importance of the development of communications in the region. Some of the branch roads starting from primary roads were used mainly for trading purposes, since they adapted themselves to the orography of the territory and facilitated access to the mining sites, making possible the transportation of ores. Most of the mines were located relatively close to communication routes and thus acted as a stimulus for the development of population settlements.

As we have pointed out, there seems to be a correlation between some pre-Roman settlements, hill forts occupied in the Roman period, and mining sites. However, this does not occur in all cases where hill forts have been found, but in fact only in a relatively small percentage of cases. Therefore, no direct relation can be discerned between the reuse of settlements which already existed when the Romans arrived and the development of mining activity. It seems clear that the landscape was articulated primarily according to Roman military needs. Once the territory was conquered, trading activity started, which, little by little, developed new ways to stimulate the economy of the region. Although the local population in some ways benefited from this economic exploitation, its organization was entirely under Roman control; the agency of the locals was limited to cultural choices, rather than economic activity.

Already in the pre-Roman period mining sites existed, which influenced the development of the landscape before the arrival of Romans. Pre-Roman

11 Llano (1919).

craftsmanship in precious metals was more developed in areas which did not produce metals, outside Asturia. This confirms on the one hand that contacts with other cultures outside the Asturian area already existed during the Iron Age, and on the other that the knowledge and skills for ore extraction were already present before the Roman conquest. It seems clear, however, that most of the mining sites, particularly those which required a significant economical investment, as well as advanced technology, emerged in the Roman period.[12]

The importance of Bierzo, near Léon, as a Roman gold mining area is clear; this area was connected to the famous Las Médulas sites.[13] It is clear that these gold mines were of international importance in the Roman period. In the Asturian case they did not reach very high output levels, when compared to the Empire's general output, but the relationship between the arrival of Rome, the mining economy, and the restructuration of the Asturian hill fort settlement structure seems clear. Rome was the main promoter of development in this area, especially in the period of maximum mining output in the first to third centuries AD.[14]

The first century AD saw the most significant changes in the Asturian region. During this period the mining works carried out by the Roman state peaked, with the gold of western Asturias a central element of the region's economy. The supply of gold and the mining works started to decay in the second and third centuries AD, to be replaced by the mines of Dacia.

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CHAPTER 11

# Mines and Economic Integration of Provincial 'Frontiers' in the Roman Principate

*Alfred M. Hirt*

## Introduction

In 25 BC Augustus proclaimed the subjugation of the Asturians and Cantabrians and closed the gates of the Temple of Janus in Rome. Military campaigns in North-western Spain had begun as early as 30 BC, perhaps even earlier, and Augustus himself led Roman forces against Asturian and Cantabrian hill forts in 27 BC. As it turned out, the proclamation of peace in 25 BC was premature: Cassius Dio reports two further revolts in 24 and in 22, which both were quickly put down. A final uprising erupted in 19; after a series of setbacks, Agrippa finally pacified the region by the year 15 BC.[1] A significant Roman force consisting of three legions, undoubtedly accompanied by an unknown number of auxiliary units, remained in the Northwest for decades.[2]

Pliny records that the *gentes* or *civitates* of the Northwest were divided into three assizes, each centred on an assize town founded under Augustus, namely Asturica, Lucus, and Bracara.[3] Asturica Augusta was apparently established on the site of a former legionary camp and became the administrative centre for the region, which likely managed the emerging gold mining operations throughout the northwest. Both Asturica and the legionary camp of León, and more importantly the adjoining civilian settlement there, offered significant economic opportunities for the native inhabitants of the area, attracted further settlers, and functioned—as some scholars put it—as "islands of *romanitas*".[4]

The countryside offered a markedly distinct picture. Roman authors indicate a dramatic change in the life of Asturians and Cantabrians in the immediate aftermath of conquest: according to Dio, Agrippa ordered the tribesmen

1 Dio 51.20.5, 53.25.5–8, 53.27.1, 53.29.1–2, 54.5.1–3, 54.11.2–5.

2 Alföldy (2000b, 449–53); Kienast (1999, 351–4) with further bibliography and sources. For military presence in the Northwest, see LeRoux (1989); Morillo Cedrán (2000); Morillo Cedrán & García Marcos (2003).

3 Plin. *NH* 3.28.

4 Hoffmann-Salz (2011, 111–21) with further bibliography. On mining administration in Asturica, see Hirt (2010, 119–24).

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to come down from their hill forts and settle in the plains. More importantly, they were ordered to mine the soil for gold and other resources. Only then, says Florus, did the Asturians gain knowledge of the riches in their ground:

> The natural advantages of the place favoured his [Augustus'] plan; for the whole district bears gold and is rich in copper-green, cinnabar, and other pigments. Thus the Asturians, while searching riches in the deep for others, came to know their own resources and wealth.[5]

In Florus' and Dio's narrative the conquered population, following the final military defeat, are presented in a passive role: on the orders of Augustus they are dislodged from their remote hill forts and settled in the plains. What is more, the Asturians are made to exploit mineral resources, and only as a result of this they are enlightened about the profitability of the landscape they inhabit. The latter remark by Florus appears to reflect the notion held by Pliny the Elder and Tacitus that it was Rome and its representatives which spread 'civilization' (*humanitas*) and its rewards—in this case in the form of geological and technological knowledge.[6]

The narrative offered by our literary sources in which the indigenous Asturians are presented in a passive role appears to colour most modern scholarly accounts of the aftermath of Roman conquests in the Spanish Northwest, especially when it comes to the exploitation of resources.[7] Even though there is archaeological and palaeolimnological evidence for mining and metallurgical activities in the Late Iron Age throughout North-western Spain, the locals are assumed to have contributed very little if any technical expertise once Rome began to intensify mining operations.[8] The Asturians and other tribes simply provided unskilled miners; in the context of their *munera*, local communities

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5 Florus 2.33.59–60: *Favebat consilio natura regionis; circa enim omnis aurifera est et chrysocollae miniique et aliorum colorum ferax. Itaque exerceri solum iussit. Sic Astures nitentes in profundo opes suas atque divitias, dum aliis quaerunt, nosse coeperunt*. See Dio 54.11.5.

6 Plin. *NH* 3.39; Tacitus *Agric.* 21. See Woolf (1998, 54–76); Woolf (2011, 4–5); Häussler (2013, 53–4).

7 See for instance Keay (1988, 62–6); Domergue (1990, 197–9); Curchin (1991, 136–40); Richardson (1996, 166–8); Curchin (2004, 144–8).

8 For pre-Roman mining in Spain, see Curchin (2004, 145–6); Almagro Gorbea (2011, 74–5); for palaeolimnological evidence, see Martínez Cortizas et al. (2013) with further bibliography. For pre-Roman mining in Gaul: Cauuet et al. (2006); at Roşia Montană: Cauuet et al. (2003); Cauuet (2012); for Dolaucothi see Burnham & Burnham (2004, 329–30). For mining practices in the Ancient World, see Domergue (2008).

(*civitates stipendiariae*) are understood to have supplied corvée labour to the state for mining operations (see below).[9]

The question therefore arises whether some Asturians or other non-Roman groups and communities perhaps played a more active economic role in mining operations or in mining districts, and thus willingly participated in advancing the integration of remote regions ('frontiers') into the economic framework of the Roman Empire. Before attempting to answer this question the concepts 'integration' and 'active role' need to be defined more clearly.

## Exploitation and Integration

Let us turn to *integration* first. Usually, *economic integration* is defined as the reduction of tariffs and taxes with the objective to increase trade and lower costs for producers and consumers.[10] This definition does not quite work for our purposes, since it presumes a peaceful process based on mutual agreement between two or more states. Given Rome's predatory imperialism, the political subjugation and economic exploitation of Iron Age communities by the Roman state created a different integrative process from the outset.[11] It resulted in unified political control by Rome, a single currency especially in the West, shared institutions such as laws, market supervision, and regulation, and state investment in infrastructure (roads, canals, harbours). It is argued that the annexation of peripheral communities in the West by Rome reduced transaction and transportation costs, resulting in an increase in trade, information, values, people, et cetera.[12] As Bang has rightly pointed out in the case of market integration, we may suspect that not all areas conquered by Rome were equally integrated into the Roman empire; remote regions in Gaul, Spain, Britain, and the Danube provinces were less accessible than others, often retaining pre-Roman elements of material culture and settlement patterns.[13] In this specific context *economic integration* therefore is to mean an increase in the migration of people, the long-distance import of goods and services, and a higher frequency of information transfer to and from underdeveloped

9 Hoffmann-Salz (2011) with further bibliography; Sastre Prats (2012, 257); Sánchez-Palencia & Orejas (2012, 270–1).

10 E.g. Jones (2001, 783–4).

11 Bang (2012, 200ff.)

12 Bang (2012, 200–3); Wilson (2012, 287).

13 Bang (2006, 59ff.), e.g. in Gaul, see Woolf (1998, 145ff.)

'frontiers'—meaning peripheries or remote regions and *not* zones in the Roman *limes* system.[14]

Some of these 'frontiers' were integrated as a consequence of Rome's push to ensure access to precious metals. Securing and exploiting mineral resources appears to have been one of the primary objectives in the aftermath of Roman conquest. Circumstantial evidence from the short-lived *provincia Germania* strongly suggests this: lead ingots with the name of L. Flavius Verucla, probably originating from the Sauerland to the east of the river Rhine, indicate that along with the swift establishment of permanent garrison camps (Haltern) and towns (e.g. Waldgirmes) between 7 BC and AD 9 the Roman state/emperor quickly strove to establish control of and develop mineral resources.[15] The same is evident in Roman Britain: the mould marks on some of the lead ingots indicate a quick exploitation of silver-lead mines in the areas of the Deceangli or Brigantes soon after conquest in late 70s and early 80s AD.[16] The gold mine at Dolaucothi, too, was developed from a pre-Roman mining site soon after the conquest of southern Wales in *c.* 70 AD.[17]

The establishment of mines and mining districts had a significant economic impact on the regions in question. When we take similar early modern and modern contexts into account, the importance of mining operations in integrating 'frontiers' into the economic framework of a colonial power becomes evident. The search for and appropriation of metal resources is recognized as a major impetus to the exploration, colonization, and socio-economic integration of overseas territories by European powers from the Spanish conquests of the Aztec and Inca empires down to the 'Scramble for Africa'.[18] The availability and location of coal and metal ores and improvements to mining technology not only were identified as driving factors in the Industrial Revolution of Britain and Europe,[19] they were also seen as focal points in newly emerging migrational topographies. The increase of mining activities in the German Ruhr District in the late nineteenth century or the copper mining in the Yunnan by the Qing Dynasty in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, for example, attracted immigrants from well beyond national borders.[20]

14 On this concept of 'frontier', see Osterhammel (2009, 465ff.).
15 Dio 56.18.1–3. See Hanel & Rothenhöfer (2005); Eck (2008) with further bibliography.
16 *RIB* 2, 2404.31–6. 61–2. See Jones & Mattingly (1990, 66–77); Hirt (2010, 334).
17 Burnham & Burnham (2004, 329–30).
18 Bitterli (1991, esp. 66, 109); Pakenham (1991); Kamen (2002); Parker (2010).
19 Burt (2004) with bibliography; Broadberry & O'Rourke (2010, 164–86).
20 Benedict (1996, 25–6); Hoerder (2002, 347ff.).

The development of mineral resources by Europeans in Africa, North and Latin America, Australia, or Southeast Asia throughout the nineteenth century led to sudden increases in population and the creation of densely populated settlements at mining sites, profoundly affecting regional economies through stimulating demand for water, fuel, food, goods, and services, along with the creation of a new communication infrastructure (roads, telegraph lines, etc.). As a consequence, remote areas were integrated in the emerging administrative and political fabric of these overseas territories. In combination with the social distinctiveness arising from a unique work experience (already prevalent in European mining communities), the remoteness of mining establishments fostered a frontier mentality in its inhabitants.[21] Some nineteenth-century states relied heavily on forced labour in the exploitation of mining areas, either by banishing criminals and dissidents to gold mines (Tsarist Russia/Siberia), pressing local tribes into exploiting diamond deposits (German South-West Africa) or using conscript soldiers in coal pits (Ottoman Turkey).[22] Mining and quarrying impacted on the environment, altering drainage patterns and ‘exfoliating’ the surrounding landscape of its fauna and flora; the examination of bog and lake sediments throughout Europe and ice cores in Greenland and Antarctica yield evidence for the significant contribution of smelting of argentiferous lead to atmospheric pollution.[23] In some instances, as in Qing China, the sudden formation of dense population clusters at mining sites in the Yunnan province also fostered disease resulting in an outbreak of the bubonic plague.[24] In short, historians concerned with the ‘Early Modern’ and ‘Modern’ periods of World History have acknowledged the contribution the search and mining of metals has made in expanding economic (alongside social and political) networks around the globe.[25]

By the same token, we may expect that the opening of new or the intensification of known mines in Roman provinces likely became the focal points of regional or trans-regional migration leading to sudden increases in population and the creation of densely populated settlements nearby; by stimulating demand for water, fuel, food, goods, and a wider range of services, along with

21 Headrick (1988, 259–303); Dumett (1998); Shillington (2005, 1001–8); Butlin (2009, 560–76); Osterhammel (2009, 222, 280, 478–9).

22 Roberts (1986, 558–9); Forsyth (1992); Kaczyńska (1994, 24–5, 44, 53–4); Zimmerer (2004, 177); Quataert (2006, 129–49); Osterhammel (2009, 206–7).

23 Smol (2009, 120ff.).

24 Benedict (1996, 25–6).

25 This aspect of globalization has only just recently been emphasized in an essay by the anthropologist Goody (2012).

the formation of new communication and road networks, mining operations had a significant impact on regional economies and the environment of the Iberian Peninsula, the British Isles, or the Balkans.

Archaeological and written evidence in support of this hypothesis is abundant. Firstly, there are significant indications for an increase in population density and shifts in settlement patterns, the most impressive of which can be observed in the archaeological record of the Spanish Northwest. Based on surveys in the Northeast basin of the Duero and in the area around the gold mines of Las Médulas, Almudena Orejas has shown that the pre-Roman landscape was dominated by fortified and isolated settlements often, but not exclusively, positioned on hilltops; these walled hill-top villages, called 'castros' in Spanish, had developed close to favourable farmland, pastures, woodlands, and sources of iron ore (figure 11.1).

Following the Roman conquest, the settlement patterns changed: although pre-Roman castros continued to be settled, new castros were formed, increasing settlement density dramatically; both pre-Roman and Roman castros showed significant changes to their interior layout, most displaying an orthogonal street grid and open spaces; more importantly, they remained occupied well into the second century AD (figure 11.2).

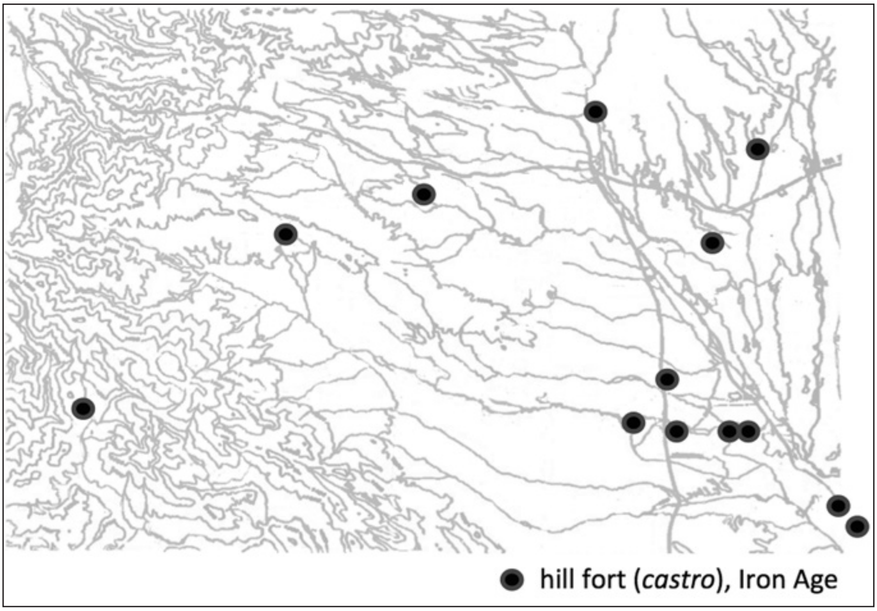


FIGURE 11.1 *Settlement pattern, pre-Roman Period; Duerna Valley Survey, after Orejas (1994, 275 fig. 2).*

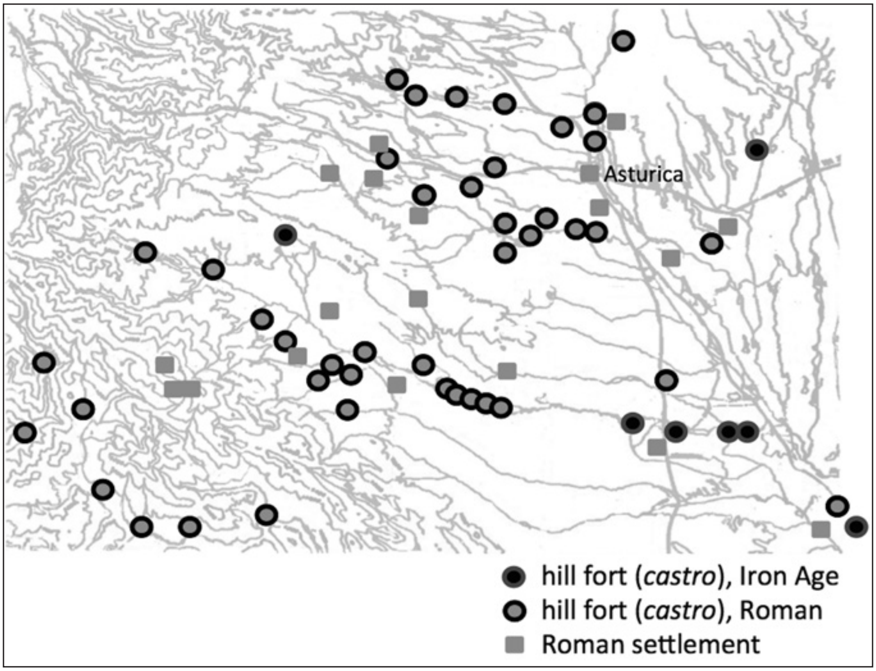


FIGURE 11.2 *Settlement pattern, Roman Period; Duerna Valley Survey, after Orejas (1994, 275 fig. 2).*

The topographical location of these new castro-settlements reveals the changed economic circumstances: these new villages were created in the vicinity of gold mining operations, interspersed with unfortified clusters of houses and settlements evidencing metallurgical activity, as Argüelles shows elsewhere in this volume. A further group of settlements seems not to be related to the mining zones, but was positioned close to the agriculturally fertile soils of the area. The settlement patterns appear to reflect the changed economic parameters set not only by Roman administrative and military sites like Asturica Augusta or León and the increase in demand for grain and livestock, but also the massive intensification of mining activities in the Northwest.[26] Archaeological evidence for mining communities also abounds in Southern Spain at some of the mining sites opened during the Republic such as La Loba (Fuenteobejuna) near Cordoba or La Dehesa/Riotinto; recent surveys and excavations at Roşia Montană in Dacia have yielded further Roman settlements.[27]

26 Orejas (1994; 1996); Orejas & Sánchez-Palencia (2002); Hoffmann-Salz (2011, 134ff.).
27 Domergue (2008, 47); Damian (2003).

Clearly, mines and mining districts quickly became migrational focal points not only for free or forced labour involved in the extractive process, but for men and women in the ancillary services to the mining industry as well. At La Loba in south-eastern Spain the archaeological evidence may indicate that the mines of the late second/early first century BC possibly attracted Celtiberian workers from North-Eastern Spain.[28] What is more, Diodorus tells us that in the second century BC Italians were drawn to Southern Spain by the mines, making significant profits.[29] Numerous lead ingots, found mostly on shipwrecks, corroborate the presence of Italians by naming small-scale companies and large-scale *societates* possibly involved in mining operations in the hinterland of Carthago Nova and the Sierra Morena.[30] Epigraphic evidence deriving from a number of mining districts throughout Spain and dating to the Principate further attest inter-provincial migration with numerous men and women particularly from Uxama and Clunia in north-eastern Spain being drawn to mining establishments throughout Northern and Southern Spain.[31]

Besides changes to the settlement patterns due to increased migration, archaeological and epigraphic material attests to the presence of soldiers and administrative personnel at Asturica Augusta and in the mining zones. In the Mendips and at Dolaucothi in Britain archaeological remains of forts in the vicinity of mining sites illustrate this point as well.[32] Headquarters of mining administrations such as Ampelum (Zlatna) or Domavium (Srebreniča), located in the vicinity of gold and silver mining districts in Dacia and Moesia Superior respectively, housed imperial procurators and their personnel (soldiers, imperial slaves, and freedmen).[33] The presence of soldiers and administrative officials increased demand for upmarket goods like wine, olive oil, and other commodities imported over long distances from the Mediterranean basin. This is particularly evident in the desert quarries of Mons Claudianus in Egypt.[34] By analogy we may expect the administrative hubs and the mines and mining districts themselves to have been linked up with the long-distance trade network of the empire. Roads connected some of the mining zones and administrative hubs more efficiently to the overland and riverine transport network

28 Domergue (2008, 206).

29 Diod. Sic. 5.36.

30 Richardson (1976); Domergue (1990, 253–77); Mateo (2001).

31 Haley (1991, 89ff.); Hirt (2010, 273).

32 Jones & Little (1973, 13–14).

33 Asturica Augusta and Northwestern Spain: Hirt (2010, 121, 186ff.); Ampelum: Hirt (2010, 159); Domavium: Hirt (2010, 160–1).

34 Tomber (1996, 39–49).

of the province.[35] The influx of people of different status not only increased the demand for supplies by the mining districts but also furthered monetization of the local economy given that soldiers and administrative personnel, as well as part of the work force were paid in coin (see below).[36] The Vipasca tablets furthermore offer insights as to the services and amenities required in the *metallum Vipascense*, e.g. the running of baths, a barber shop, and a school, creating opportunities for immigrants and locals not directly involved in mining operations.[37]

Evidently, the opening of new or the intensification of existing mining operations increased economic integration; the increase in population and the movement of people and goods in and out of mining regions, the monetization of economic transactions, along with the increase of demand for local resources like timber, charcoal, water, and iron, as well as for services, linked the mining districts and, indirectly, their surrounding regions, into the wider network of the Roman economy.

## Indigenous Agency in the Exploitation of Mines

Let us now turn to what may have constituted an ‘active role’. Rather than offering a positive definition of the concept, we might agree that *not* interacting with Roman partners in economic transactions, or being forced to work for Rome or Romans through institutions such as slavery or tributary obligations, does not qualify as engaging *actively* with the economic opportunities Roman mining districts provided. Consequently, the deliberate choice of ‘indigenous’ populations or individuals to face economic risk and take on the costs of investing in ancillary services or mining operations and realizing economic or social profits may constitute an active role.

One example of early modern colonial encounters provides an illustration of what an ‘active (economic) role’ could look like. A process of incorporation into a colonial framework of dominance familiar to Rome’s conquests of temperate Europe can be observed in the Spanish overseas territories in Mexico and Peru. Soon after Cortés had broken the remnants of Aztec resistance and established the governorship of New Spain (Mexico) in 1521, local gold and

35 The cinnabar mining company in Southern Spain, the *societas Sisaponensis*, had a road constructed connecting Corduba with its mining district (*AE* 1995, 846 = *CIL* II$^2$, 7699a).

36 *Dig*. 48.19.16.9–10 (Claudius Saturninus) on the punishment of coin forgers operating near mines highlights the role of mining districts in the monetization of provinces.

37 *Lex metalli Vipascensis*, cf. Flach (1979, 428ff.).

silver mining operations near Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) were taken over or newly opened (e.g. Zumpagno del Rio, 1530; Sultepec, 1531; Taxco, 1532). After shattering the former Inca Empire in 1532, Spanish conquistadores also took control of an Inca mine at Porco in 1539 and in 1548 began operating mines in the famed Cerro Rico of Potosí. For the new European owners of mines the central most important issue was to secure sufficient manpower. The solutions varied from mining district to mining district; in the early days following the conquest, mining operations in the viceroyalty of New Spain were run with indigenous slaves acquired during war or from tribal leaders and other Spaniards, until the crown forbid the use of indigenous slaves in 1549. The institution of *encomienda*, the entrustment of indigenous communities to individual Europeans, provided a different form of ensuring the supply of labour; in return for protection and conversion to Christianity, these communities were obliged to offer tribute in kind or in labour to their *encomendero*. As early as the 1530s, the Taxco silver mine in Mexico, for example, relied on a large catchment area of compulsory workers, who were required to work in the mines for 30 days a year and provide their own sustenance. These labourers would typically have lacked training and were employed in ancillary tasks carrying food and firewood for charcoal.

The *encomienda* system, however, was not applicable everywhere: in some instances its implementation led to local uprisings, especially in areas which not had been formally subjected to the Spanish crown. Mining districts in Mexico's north, such as Zacatecas, therefore imported African slaves or relied on paid Indio workers from distant tribes, so-called *naborías*, who were attracted by advances against salaries to work in mines. Other incentives attracted indigenous workers to mines in Peru: at the Cerro Rico of Potosí the work force consisted of *yanaconas*, originally servants who had been personally tied to distinguished individuals of the Inca empire and had passed into the service of the Spanish conquerors. However, this group also consisted of runaways, who fled the *encomienda* tributary obligations of their communities. Other *yanaconas* were independent workers who controlled the whole process from the extraction of the ore to its smelting. They made their own tools, their own ladders, and hired other Indios to work for them. They 'leased' parts of mines from their Spanish owners; the latter retained the right to the richest minerals, appropriate for smelting, which they would sell to the *yanaconas*. The *yanaconas* kept poorer quality finds. Some of them refined their own minerals while others sold them at Potosí's market. It cannot be stressed enough that the Spaniards were highly dependent on the mining know-how furnished by the local tribes, with the result that a number of indigenous terms made their way into the Spanish descriptions of mining operations; such is the

case with mining terms in Nahuatl which coloured Spanish technical language used in Zapatecas, Mexico.[38]

The example of Spanish mining ventures in New Spain/Mexico and Peru offers an idea of the variety of integrative processes that could occur in the context of large-scale mining operations in a colonial environment. These ranged from legal institutions set to ensure the supply of labour to arrangements enabling Indios to work for a wage, even for their own profit. The latter qualifies as a good example of an 'active role' sought by indigenous groups in furthering economic integration into the system enforced by the Spanish overlords.

Let us return to our initial question of whether the Asturians and other local populations played an active role in the integration of peripheral regions into the economy of the Roman Empire. The nature of our literary, epigraphic, and archaeological material raises serious doubts as to whether we can actually answer the set question satisfactorily. At best we are provided with circumstantial evidence, which might help postulate a case for active involvement of local populations in Roman mining operations.

If we turn to Northwestern Spain, there is some evidence for basic legal institutions regulating the involvement of the local population with the Roman mining operations. The passage in Florus quoted above seems to refer to corvée labour; the Asturians, on the orders of Augustus, are settled in the plains to toil the earth for gold. Our source does not elaborate by which means this was achieved, but service obligations are the obvious choice. Tributary and service obligations were probably forced upon most indigenous communities of the region, as is hinted at in the recently discovered *tabula Paemeiobrigensis* of El Bierzo: the tablet refers to two edicts issued by Augustus on 14 and 15 February 15 BC, in which he regulates the status of the *castellani Paemeiobrigenses* and the *castellani Aiiobrigiaecini* and their association with local *gentes*, the *gens Gigurrorum* and the *gens Susarrorum*. In the first edict Augustus declared the perpetual immunity of the *Paemeiobrigenses* from all obligations, *immunitas omnium rerum*, as a reward for their loyalty to Rome during a recent revolt. In the second edict the *castellani Aiiobrigiaecini* were separated from the *gens Gigurrorum*, joined with the *gens Susarrorum*, and required to perform 'all obligations' (*omni munere fungi*) together with the *gens Susarrorum*—making up for the *Paemeiobrigenses* which did not share in the *munera* burdened on the *gens Susarrorum* anymore. The text does not provide us with a list of what exactly these *munera* were. Based on the phraseology *immunitas omnium rerum*, also used in an edict of Octavian for Roman veterans of the 30s BC,

38 Bakewell (1971; 1984); Tandeter (2005) with further bibliography.

Alföldy assumed that the *munera* included the payment of the *tributum capitis* and *tributum soli*, the obligation to furnish young men for military service in auxiliary units, and to provide a workforce for liturgies such as the construction of roads or work in mines. If so, the indigenous tribesmen would have been forced as part of their regular *munera* to provide manpower for local mining operations.[39] If this reconstruction is accurate, then the majority of the miners would have been forced to work, at least in the early days of Roman dominance in the Iberian Northwest.

However, there might well have been opportunities for locals or other non-Romans to actively participate in the exploitation of mineral resources. An active role of the local population in mining operations might perhaps be gleaned from a passage of Pliny the Elder. In a section of his book on metals, Pliny describes gold-mining in Asturia and Callaecia detailing different extractive techniques down to the numbers of annual output from the gold mines; his detailed description is assumed to derive from personal observations in North-western Spain, where he may have been posted as a prefect in the mid first century.[40] Some of the technical terms used in Pliny's description of gold mining, such as *corrugus, arrugia, balux, segutilum, tasconium* et cetera, have been identified as being of Iberian origin.[41] If this is correct, the use of Iberian terminology, in analogy to the use of Nahuatl in the mining terminology of New Spain, implies a significant role of locals in the formation of gold mining operations in the Roman Northwest. This might be underpinned by archaeological evidence in the shape of locally produced gold objects and iron metallurgy suggesting that gold and iron mining may well have already been practiced in the pre-Roman period.[42] Alternately, Latin mining terminology might also have been influenced by Iberian miners from the south of the Peninsula, where mines had been in operation already before and during the Roman Republican period.[43] Either way, this could suggest a significant role of Iberian miners in the establishment of Roman mining ventures in Spain.

Epigraphic data from the Northwest may provide further hints at an 'active role' of the local populace in exploiting their wealth. Apart from the arrival of imperial officials and military personnel, there is not much epigraphic data for immigrants from outside Northern Spain being attracted to the mining districts of the Northwest. There are, however, enough texts from the first and

39 Alföldy (2000, 197–98).
40 Plin. *NH* 33.66–78. See Syme (1969, 45 n. 78); Alföldy (2000b, 46 n. 76); Hirt (2010, 121 n. 86).
41 Oroz (1996); Adams (2007, 235–6).
42 Curchin (2004, 145–6); Almagro Gorbea (2011, 74–5).
43 Domergue (1990, 179–96).

second century showing individuals from Galician and other North-western tribes migrating to the mining zones; we also find members of Asturian tribes such as the *Gigurri* and *Zoelae* setting up their inscribed monuments in gold mining districts. Numerous *Clunienses* from the northern town of Clunia are documented at Três Minas, a hard-rock gold mine, and at other mining sites in the Northwest.[44] The mere fact that these individuals commissioned inscribed funerary and votive stele in or near the place where they worked is unlikely to apply to people being forced to toil in mines as part of the tributary obligations of their community or as slaves. These men and women probably made a living, perhaps even realized profits, as miners, mining contractors, or in the ancillary services of mining operations.

In the case of one gold mining area in Roman Dacia, there is abundant epigraphic evidence documenting the 'ethnic' composition of the people involved in this particular enterprise. Soon after the military conquest, finalized in AD 106, gold mining activities began at Alburnus Maior and elsewhere in Dacia under the auspices of a *procurator aurariarum*, a freedman of the emperor, who was based at Ampelum (Zlatna) and supported by a considerable number of subaltern staff; military detachments from legionary and auxiliary units in Dacia were also based there. This administrative hub for the Dacian gold mining districts quickly rose to a regional centre of note, attracting migrants from Dalmatia, Bithynia, even Syria. Possibly at the end of the second century, Ampelum was elevated to the rank of a *municipium*.[45] At Alburnus Maior (Roşia Montană), the influx of immigrants from Dalmatia is even more pronounced. Our epigraphic data, consisting of a wide array of inscribed funerary stones and votive stele in Latin and Greek, along with some twenty-five inscribed wooden writing tablets found discarded in mining shafts, documents some 177 names, 109 of which have single or dual peregrine names, that is, a personal name and patronym. 64 names are Roman *tria nomina*, with seven of these Roman names having *cognomina* indicating a Dalmatian origin. Of the 109 peregrine names, 84 are Dalmatian, and a far smaller number hails from Asia Minor.[46]

Most names are known from texts crudely inscribed on votive altars and funerary stele, which appear to derive from rural settlements on the hills in the vicinity of mining operations surrounding Alburnus. These unfortified hill sites consist of a few simple houses with stone foundations and, on occasion,

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44 Haley (1991, 89–91); Hirt (2010, 273). There is no indication that *peregrini* were excluded from becoming *occupatores* or *coloni* at mining districts like Vipasca.

45 Noeske (1977, 277ff., 315ff.); Hirt (2010, 271ff.).

46 Piso (2004, 273ff.) with source citations and bibliography.

cultic sites containing votive monuments. In some instances the inscriptions appear to render the name of these small villages: recent excavations on the Hăbad hill have revealed an *area sacra* with thirty-four altars, three of which name dedicators from a *k*(*astellum*) *Ansi*.[47] At Valea Nanului/Drumuş another sanctuary yielded seventeen altars, one dedicated by a member of a *collegium Sardiatarum* and two dedicated to a *Genius Sardiatensium*.[48] Furthermore, in the necropolis on the Ţarina hill, two funerary stele give the origin of the departed as *k*(*astellum*) *Starva*.[49] The corpus of local inscriptions yields further names for *kastella* and *vici* near Alburnus, which seem to describe the settlements in and around the gold mining area.

Places like *kastellum Ansi, kastellum Baridustarum, kastellum*(*?*) *Sardiatarum, kastellum Starva*, and *vicus Pirustarum* have parallels in names of tribes and settlements in Dalmatia; the Ansi and a town *Ansium* or *Ansum* are located in Liburnia; *Baridustae* and *Sardiates* are located in middle Dalmatia near Salona, whereas the *Pirustae* are sought in a mining region north of Montenegro. The *Starvii* may derive from the rich mining territory of the *municipium Salvium* (Vrba) near Podgradina in Bosnia.[50] If the interpretation of these epigraphically attested toponyms is correct, members of the tribes of the *Ansi, Baridustae, Sardiates, Pirustae*, and *Starvii* arrived at Alburnus and settled in places they named after their tribal groups, creating a 'Little Dalmatia' away from home. These groups may have been led by tribal leaders, so-called *principes*: a *princeps*, Maximus Veneti, is named in one of the wooden writing tablets of Alburnus Maior,[51] and a *princeps adsignatus*, T. Aurelius Aper, from the Dalmatian *municipium Splonum* set up an inscribed monument at Ampelum.[52] It appears these Dalmatian immigrants not only mirrored the topography of their homeland when arriving at Alburnus Maior, but initially also retained some of their social structures. Dalmatians were by no means the only immigrant communities to the gold mines. Greek inscribed votive monuments to deities of Asia Minor were apparently found grouped at Valea Nanului, suggesting that immigrants from the East also arrived and settled in the gold mines of Alburnus.[53]

47 Piso (2004, 294). For the archaeology of the settlements, see Damian (2003).
48 Piso (2004, 293–4).
49 Ciongradi (2008).
50 Noeske (1977, 317 fig. 2); Piso (2004, 292 ff.).
51 CIL 3 pp. 936ff.
52 CIL 3.1322 = ILS 7153 = AE 1968, 443.
53 Piso (2004, 273).

The wooden writing tablets of Alburnus Maior provide a unique insight into the interactions and daily contacts within a mining or quarrying district. These tablets, found in mining shafts and tunnels in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, date mostly to the mid-second century, not later than the year 167.[54] The twenty-five tablets, written mostly in cursive Latin, are contracts and other legal obligations; besides the proclamation of a *collegium funeraticium* being dissolved, the tablets inform on loan agreements, a receipt for a loan, a work contract, sales contracts for slaves, or for half a house, et cetera.[55] As for the contractual partners and witnesses noted in these texts, we find the names of *peregrini* alongside Roman names. For example, the work contract for *opus aurariarum*, for work in a gold mine, is concluded between two men with peregrine names, a *Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua*, likely a name of Dalmatian origin, and a mining worker [–]s *Restitutus agnomine Senioris*, who offers his services for a limited time period in return for a wage.[56] An Andueia Batonis, another Dalmatian, is documented in a contract concluded on May 6, AD 159, buying half a house of a man with a Roman name, a Velurius Valens, for 300 denarii.[57] The witnesses consist of men both with Roman and Dalmatian names. The contracts not only evidence the legal contacts between Dalmatians and other groups settling at Alburnus Maior; they also illustrate the direct involvement of these people in the running of mining operations, likely as contractors/’lessees’, hiring their own miners, possibly owning their own picks, tools, ropes, and other materials, and realizing their own profits. Clearly the mining operations at Alburnus did provide the opportunity for skilled men (and women) to make a living either directly from mining and ancillary services, or from supplying and trading food and goods to the mining district.

Given the significant amount of Dalmatian tribesmen settling in the gold mining districts and, initially at least, retaining their ethnic formations, some scholars have wondered whether these migrations had been forced. Eutropius, who writes in the late fourth century, claims that Trajan transplanted people from the whole Roman world to Dacia in order to repopulate the new province after the war against Decebalus.[58] Whether the Dalmatians were moved on the orders of the Roman state; whether a mere invitation of the emperor and the promise of wealth attracted whole tribal groups from Dalmatia to Romania; or

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54 For the texts see Noeske (1977, 386 ff.).

55 CIL 3, pp. 924ff.; pp. 928 f.; pp. 930 ff.; p. 933; pp. 934 f.; pp. 936 ff.; pp. 940 ff.; pp. 944 ff.; p. 959

56 CIL 3 p. 949.

57 CIL 3. pp. 944 ff.

58 Eutr. 8.6.2.

whether the concentration of Dalmatians of Alburnus is the result of a vibrant migrant network, cannot be answered with any certainty. As for the claim that Dacia was depopulated, the absence of Dacian names from our epigraphic evidence or any positive indication of their presence in the archaeological record befits Eutropius' narrative rather nicely. Dacians are well documented outside the Dacian provinces: their names have been identified mostly in military papyri of Roman Egypt and in Roman military diploma.[59] In the epigraphic evidence at Ampelum and Alburnus Maior, and in Dacia in general, Dacian names have thus far not been noted. Does this mean they were not at all involved in the mining operations at Alburnus Maior? It might well be possible that the Dacians were subjected to provide corvée labour in the mines as part of the *munera* burdened on their communities, which may also explain the silence of our written documentation at Alburnus on Dacians. Given the limitations of epigraphic data, any sweeping generalisation about the presence or absence of individuals and groups from our records needs to be treated with caution.

This said, the Dalmatians, by far the largest ethnic group documented at Alburnus, seemed to have settled in an economic environment very similar to that of Dalmatia. The attested *ethnica* denote people originating from areas of Dalmatia, which have been heavily mined for precious metals since the Roman conquest. If this is so, it seems likely the Dalmatians were sought after for their mining expertise—an expertise they acquired in the aftermath of the Roman conquest. Florus claims that after being conquered by Rome, the Dalmatians were forced by their governor C. Vibius Postumus to dig for gold:

> Augustus entrusted the task of completely subjugating them [the Dalmatians] to Vibius, who forced this savage people to dig the earth and to melt from its veins the gold, which this otherwise most stupid of peoples seeks with a zeal and diligence that one might think they were extracting it for their own needs.[60]

59 Dana (2003).

60 Florus 2.25.12: *Augustus perdomandos Vibio mandat, qui efferum genus fodere terras coegit aurumque venis repurgare quod alioquin gens omnium stupidissima eo studio, ea diligentia anquirit, ut illud in usus suos eruere videantur*.

Even though Florus uses a similar motif in describing the effects of Roman conquest in the case of the Asturians, he emphasizes that the Dalmatians embraced their 'new' task and displayed *studium* and *diligentia* in doing so. Florus' section seems to sum up rather nicely what a Roman definition of an 'active role' in economic integration may have sounded like.

## Conclusion

As to our initial question of whether indigenous groups did play an *active role* in engaging with mining operations by the Roman state and thus in the *economic* integration, the epigraphic evidence does provide circumstantial evidence that parts of the indigenous communities of North-western Spain and in Dalmatia willingly participated in mining operations. The notion that the former groups were perhaps even indispensable in the exploitation of mineral wealth rests on debatable linguistic evidence. In the case of Alburnus Maior, however, we find Dalmatian communities settling in the immediate vicinity of mining operations. We cannot fully exclude the possibility that they were forced to resettle, but the funerary and votive inscriptions, the writing tablets in particular, strongly suggest that at least some Dalmatians sought an active role in developing these mines. To sum up, the integration of a 'frontier' into the economic fabric of the Roman Empire through the development of its mineral wealth could in some instances count on the active participation of 'non-Roman' groups, whether native to the area in question or brought in from elsewhere.

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CHAPTER 12

# The 'Opportunistic Exploitation' of Melos: a Case Study of Economic Integration and Cultural Change in the Roman Cyclades

*Enora Le Quéré*

## Introduction

Over the centuries, the term 'Roman Empire' has been a part of the common vocabulary among the historians of Antiquity. However, the exact meaning of this expression remains ambiguous, due to the complexity of the very notion of empire. Therefore, in the present study, it is vital that the term 'Roman Empire' is clearly defined. Ancient Rome is often admired for having created, run, managed, and coordinated a vast and long-lasting empire, incorporating a large number of populations, and characterized by an extraordinary capacity of integration. During the largest part of the twentieth century, the main approach to the Roman Empire consisted of studying it in terms of hegemonic domination as well as the product of an intentional imperialism.[1] Scholars attempted to underline the universalistic claims of the Empire, its desire to unify subject populations and territories, as well as its political and military supremacy. This vision thrived partly due to the temptation of establishing some correlation with modern imperial experiences.

Based on these assumptions, the question arose: how did the imperial authority of Rome manage its vast territory, and what was the nature of administration of the Empire? For nearly half a century, this issue has been the subject of numerous works that have brought forth different perspectives.[2] It has been stressed that the Roman administration could govern the Empire only

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1 See the reflections of Hurlet (2011, 110–20) and Dalla Rosa (2012, 101–14).

2 See for example the works of Millar, Eck, and Haensch.

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because it had different centres of authority in its territories, some of them several thousand kilometres away from Rome. The basic unit of this administration was the *provincia*, which, in an abstract sense, referred to the tasks carried out by a Roman (pro)magistrate and, in a territorial sense, was defined as an administrative district of the Empire.[3]

Unfortunately, in the study of Roman Cyclades, current knowledge on these administrative units is not very helpful, as these islands never actually formed a distinct *provincia*. They did not even belong to the same province; they were at all times divided between the provinces of Achaia and Asia.[4] From a geographical point of view, the Cyclades were on the fringe of the Empire, far from the centres of political power—Athens, Ephesus, and Rome (fig. 12.1). They consisted of small islands, small towns, and small villages. Furthermore, they were not at the frontiers of the Empire, so that the imperial army could not play any part in their cultural integration into the Empire.

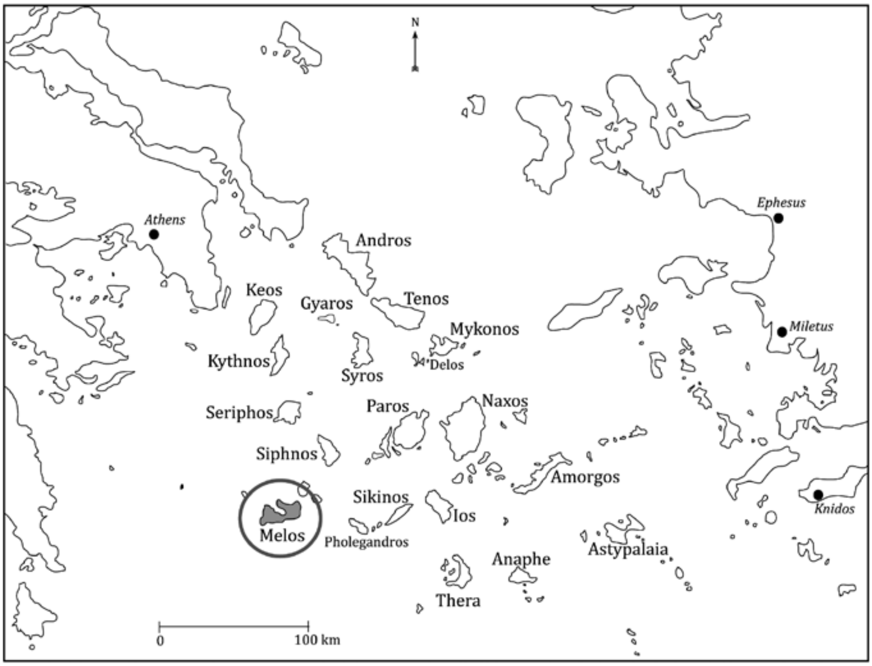


FIGURE 12.1 *Map of the Cyclades and localization of Melos* [*drawing E. Le Quéré*].

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3 For the meanings of the word *provincia*, see Bertrand (1989, 191–215).

4 On this point, see Le Quéré (2015).

However, in spite of the absence of Roman administrative, political, and military structures that are traditionally considered key items for the success of the Roman Empire, the Cyclades were integrated all the same. Clearly political dominance alone is not sufficient to explain integration; in order to really understand it, we have to re-evaluate different types of causes and not merely examine the consequences, but also the processes of this imperial integration.

In the present paper, I have chosen to analyse the example of Melos, situated in the south-west of the Cyclades archipelago.[5] For this island, it can be clearly demonstrated that the most important factor of its integration into the Roman Empire was an economic one, involving the natural resources that the island possessed and the economic system established by the Romans from the first century BC onwards.

## The Economic Exploitation of Melos

First of all, it should be underlined that Melos possessed natural resources that were in very high demand during the ancient times, due to their quality and their scarcity. Melos was always intensively exploited, as its soil was rich in industrial minerals and rocks.[6] Even nowadays, the local perlite is still mined, as well as bentonite and kaolin. According to the literary sources, in Roman times the island was principally supplying *melinum* (or 'Melian earth'), pumice, alum, and sulphur.[7] The latter two industrial minerals were particularly popular in ancient times. We can evaluate the exceptional character of these Melian resources from the testimony of Pliny the Elder: 'Sulphur occurs in the Aeolian Islands between Sicily and Italy, which, as we have said, are volcanic, but the most famous is on the island of Melos';[8] while '[alum] occurs in Spain, Egypt, Armenia, Macedonia, Pontus, Africa, and the islands Sardinia, Melos,

5 For a complete study, see Le Quéré (2015).

6 The expression 'industrial minerals and rocks', which is traditionally used even for the Antiquity, has been explained as any substance removed from the ground, with the exceptions of hydrocarbons, metal ores, gemstones, and water. Although these are usually based on the physical properties of a natural rock or mineral, industrial minerals also include some materials exploited for their chemical composition. For details, see Harben & Kuzvart (1996); McNulty (2000, 1, 11).

7 Diod. Sic. 5.10; Vitr. *Arch.* 7.3; Plin. *NH* 35.174; 35.184; 36.154; Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 5.106. For these references, see McNulty (2000, 5–6, 275, 320–41); see also Davies (1935, 262–3, 279, 294).

8 Plin. *NH* 35.174: [*Sulpur*] *nascitur in insulis Aeoliis inter Siciliam et Italiam, quas ardere diximus, sed nobilissimum in Melo insula.*

Lipari, and Stromboli; the most highly valued is in Egypt and the next best in Melos. The alum of Melos also is of two kinds, fluid and dense’.[9] Elsewhere, he even prizes the alum of Melos as the best: ‘The best of all kinds of alum is the one called *melinum*, after the island of that name, as we said; no other kind has a greater power of acting as an astringent, giving a black stain and hardening, and none other has a closer consistency.’[10] For pumice, Melos was also one of the primary sources: ‘As for the pumice that is used as a depilatory for women, and nowadays also for men, and moreover, as Catullus reminds us, for books, the finest quality occurs in Melos, Nisyros, and the Aeolian Islands’,[11] as well as for the ‘Melian earth’ (kaolin): ‘*Melinum* also is a white colour, the best occurring in the island of Melos.’[12]

In Roman times, alum and sulphur were used in textile, leather and colour pigment production, in dyeing factories, for the purification of metals, as well as for the whitening of pearls. These industrial minerals were also used for lighting, in cosmetic preparations, in medicine, and for pharmaceutical products.[13] This variety of uses established sulphur and especially alum as essential resources in the Roman Empire. The multiple references of Pliny the Elder to the Melian minerals indicate that these products were well known in Rome in the first century AD. The emphasis on the high quality of these industrial minerals suggests that, in Roman imperial times, the reputation of Melos was already well established. The Melian alum and sulphur must have been exploited all the more intensively, given that they were considered ‘the best’ for all uses—Pliny the Elder refers to them as *nobilissimum*, *laudatissimum*, *optimum*, and *efficacius*—, unrivalled in the rest of the Mediterranean. Since these resources were vital for the Empire as a whole, the island of Melos must have been of strategic significance in Roman imperial times.

9 Plin. *NH* 35.184: [*Alumen*] *gignitur autem in Hispania, Aegypto, Armenia, Macedonia, Ponto, Africa, insulis Sardinia, Melo, Lipara, Strongyle. Laudatissimum in Aegypto, proximum in Melo. Huius quoque duae species, liquidum spissumque*.

10 Plin. *NH* 35.188: *Optimum ex omnibus quod Melinum uocant ab insula, ut diximus. Nulli uis maior neque adstringendi neque denigrandi neque indurandi, nullum spissius*. See also 35.190: ‘For all the purposes that we have mentioned in the case of other kinds of alum, the alum imported from Melos is regarded as the most efficacious. It has been shown how important it is for the remaining necessities of life by perfecting hides and woolens.’

11 Plin. *NH* 36.154: *Sed ii pumices, qui sunt in usu corporum leuandorum feminis, iam quidem et uiris, atque, ut ait Catullus, libris, laudatissimi sunt in Melo, Nisyro et Aeoliis insulis*.

12 Plin. *NH* 35.37: *Melinum candidum et ipsum est, optimum in Melo insula*.

13 On the different uses of alum and sulfur in Antiquity, see McNulty (2000, 52–4, 68–70).

Nevertheless, this Melian particularity was for a long time underestimated.[14] Only recently, since the end of the 1970s and especially since the 1990s, have these industrial minerals been studied from an archaeological perspective. Thanks to the numerous archaeological surveys carried out on Melos, the archaeologists were able to identify several Roman sites that were defined by Renfrew and Wagstaff as 'special purpose' sites for the exploitation of industrial minerals.[15] Based on these studies, it is possible to assess the existence on Melos of a remarkable degree of organization of mineral exploitation, as well as a rationalized system of production that caused the island to be integrated into the Roman world to a very high degree.

Contrary to Paros for example, where the marble quarries were imperial property,[16] the pattern of exploitation on Melos relied on private property. Indeed, for the mining of alum and sulphur, there is strong evidence of networks of private properties and a clearly 'Romanized' system, probably based on *villae*. In Greece, it is very unusual that such a system can be so clearly identified. The organized character of extracting and trading these minerals is based on the specialization of each production site and the creation of a vast operating system throughout the island. My demonstration is based on the surveys of Pittinger, Renfrew, Wagstaff, and Photos-Jones, and on the excellent unpublished PhD dissertation of McNulty on the industrial minerals and rocks of Melos.[17] In her study, she provides a precise picture of the distribution of functions among the various sites of Melos, as well as an archaeological description of three types of sites. Her conclusions can be summarized as follows:

– Type 1: The first type, represented by at least four sites (Aspro Kavo, Achivadolimni, Soleta, and Tria Pigadia), consists of ceramic production sites. They are characterized by their small size (2 ha maximum), as well as by the presence of natural clay, kilns, and an abundance of ceramics. In Roman times, each of them supplied the closest site of Type 3 with *lekanai* and amphorae

14 Even nowadays, we should not underestimate the importance of the Melian industrial minerals, whose exploitation represents more than 26 % of the total production of industrial minerals in Greece. cf. Stamatakis et al. (1996, 57); McNulty (2000, 46).

15 Renfrew & Wagstaff (1982). See also Atkinson & Photos-Jones (2001).

16 See Le Quéré (2015).

17 Pittinger (1975); Renfrew & Wagstaff (1982); Photos-Jones et al. (1999); McNulty (2000, 279–87).

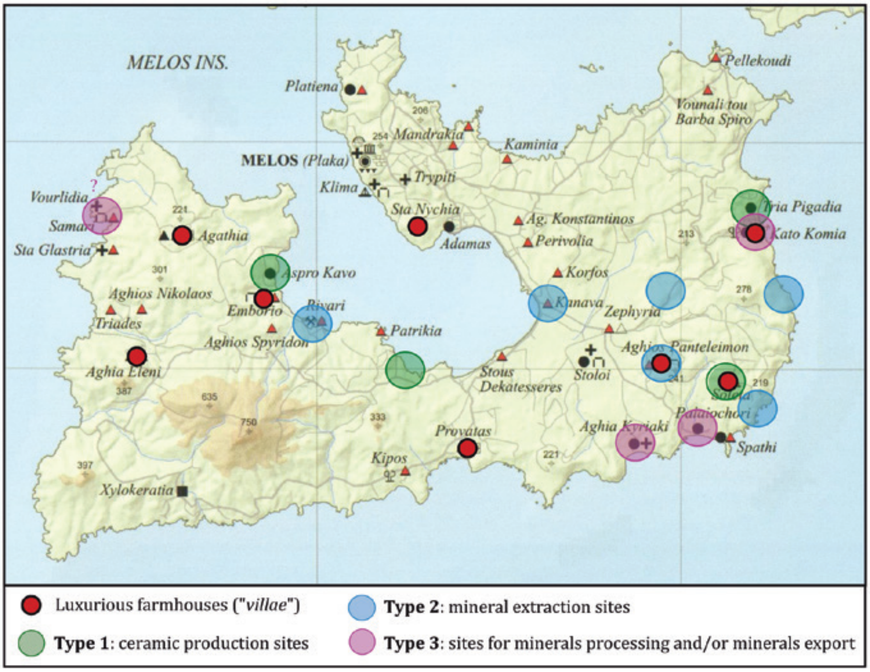


FIGURE 12.2 *Location of the sites of Types 1, 2, 3 and of the* villae *on Melos: a network of Roman archaeological sites* [*drawing E. Le Quéré, after Karvonis & Mikedaki* (2012)].

– Type 2: The second type corresponds to mineral extraction sites (Loulos, Kanava, Kalamos, and Tsiknias in the interior, and Fyrligos and Theorychia on the East coast). These sites are characterized by their tiny size (less than 1 ha), their location, usually inland, and their proximity to modern sites of mineral extraction. In Roman times, they supplied the sites of Type 3 with raw materials.
– Type 3: The third type is represented by the largest sites (ranging from 3 to 5 ha). They are clearly different from the others, due to the presence of numerous stone constructions, well-built walls, glass, and fine and coarse ware, including a great quantity of *lekanai, pithoi*, and amphorae.[18] There are currently three sites of this type identified on the island (Aghia Kyriaki, Palaiochori, and Kato Komoia), which are all located on the east and south-east coast of Melos. McNulty demonstrated that their function included the processing and/or the exportation of minerals.[19] In particular, these sites

18 On this point, see also Mackenzie (1897, 75–6).
19 McNulty (2000, 282–3).

were used for turning alumnite into artificial alum, a manufacturing process already known in ancient times.

The sites mentioned here are those whose function has been assessed with some measure of certainty. Nevertheless, a total of nearly 40 sites related to one of the activities presented have been identified on Melos.[20] This clearly demonstrates the high intensity of the exploitation of natural resources on the island during Roman imperial times. The close relationship between the different types of sites is further supported by the discovery of ceramic shards carrying the same stamp on different sites.

Beyond these observations, we can identify a clearly 'Romanized' system for the island's economic exploitation. Several wealthy houses of the Roman period have been discovered in different locations of the island. They are all characterized by the presence of well-built walls, mosaic floors, glass, and fine ware.[21] This type of rural housing environment—inland or on the coast—has been detected in Aghios Panteleimon, Asprokavo, Sta Nychia, Soleta, Emborio, Aghia Heleni, Agathia, and Provatas—that is to say in many places throughout the island's territory (fig. 12.2). The researchers have immediately interpreted them as Roman *villae*. However, several difficulties arise from such a designation in a Greek context.[22] The word *villa* has often been used by modern scholars in an imprecise and sometimes inappropriate way. A spacious and luxurious house in a rural setting was not always a *villa*. To define a *villa*, it is also necessary to prove that this house was somehow connected to large estates and that those who were living in it were landowners, members of a wealthy elite, or managers of these estates. In the case of Melos, the rich archaeological material—and especially the data provided by the surveys—allows us to deal with these too often neglected criteria. Indeed, on the island, it seems that there was a 'Roman-type' system of exploitation, with a few private owners possessing a large part of the land and its mining and extraction industries.

The case of Soleta, a site in the south-east of Melos, is particularly representative. The available data can be summarized as follows:

– As far as the housing context is concerned, the architectural structures and the material found on the site clearly indicate a luxurious farmhouse (mosaic *in situ*, well-built walls, some with stucco, fine ware, glass, lamps,

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20 See Cherry (1982); Karvonis & Mikedaki (2012, 171–5, pl. 22).

21 See also Mackenzie (1897, 81–4); Cherry (1982); Alcock (1993, 64–8); McNulty (2000, 173–4); Atkinson & Photos-Jones (2001, 82); Karvonis & Mikedaki (2012, 171–5).

22 See the remarks of Alcock (1993, 64, 239, n. 45).

and a cistern perhaps supplying baths), with a surface area of more than 500 $m^2$, dating to the first and second centuries AD.[23]

– All around and below the hill, remains of houses dating back to the Early and Late Empire (first to fifth centuries AD) were found. They are characterized by the presence of numerous tiles, cut stones, small rooms delimited by stone walls, and coarse ware that is typical of a housing context.[24] All the available data indicates that we are dealing with small rural houses—probably farms that were exploiting the agricultural resources of the island—and maybe some workshops.[25]
– 300 meters from this site, there is one of the largest ceramic production sites on the island (Type 1), measuring approximately 2 ha.[26] The finds from this site include some fine ware shards, as well as a high quantity of coarse ware, including numerous fragments of amphorae and *lekanai*. Two of them bear the stamps COLO[- -] and GHN[- -].[27]
– The extraction site of Fyrligos is situated 800 meters east of Soleta (site of Type 2), where sulphur, alum, and probably 'Melian earth' were extracted during Roman times.[28]
– Less than 1 kilometre south of Soleta, one can find Palaiochori (site of Type 3), where the processing and exportation of industrial minerals were performed. On the same site, a *lekane* bearing the stamp CO[- -] was also discovered.

The example of Soleta represents a pattern of spatial occupation and distribution of functions that can be seen in multiple locations of the island, particularly around the luxurious houses situated in Emborio (in the north-west of the island), Agios Panteleimon and Soleta (in the south-east), and Kato Komia (in the east). This pattern is characterized by the following features:

1) a luxurious farmhouse, possibly the residence of a landowner or a manager, who is living all year round or occasionally in the Melian countryside;

23 Cherry (1982, 300–1, no. 56); Karvonis & Mikedaki (2012, 174).
24 Cherry (1982, 301, no. 58).
25 On ancient Melos, barley and—probably—wheat, olives, and vines were cultivated. Furthermore, sheep and goats were kept. See Wagstaff & Gamble (1982, 95–105); Wagstaff & Auguston (1982, 106–33).
26 Cherry (1982, 301, no. 57).
27 Raptopoulos (2010, 350).
28 McNulty (2000, 328–9).

2) a surrounding network of farms, workshops, and small rural housing, which are related to farming and/or the exploitation of various natural resources belonging to the estate;
3) a connection to a ceramic production site (Type 1);
4) a connection with one or several mineral extraction site(s) (Type 2);
5) a connection with a site of minerals processing and exportation (Type 3).

Therefore we can assume the existence of a network of Roman sites, which were distributed throughout the island's territory, organized around central *villae*. This organization could be characterized as a system, given that each area within each network performed a specific function, which was regulated by the function(s) of the surrounding sites.

This distribution of tasks could be further supported by the fact that the same stamps were found on ceramics from interrelated sites of Type 1, 2, and 3. I have already mentioned the stamps CO[- -] and COLO[- -] on *lekanai* from Palaiochori. These could be possibly correlated with the stamp COLON[U]S that was discovered on a Melian amphora from the same site (Palaiochori).[29] On the other hand, on the site of Aghia Kyriaki for instance, stamps carved on *lekanai* and amphorae of Melian origin were found, bearing the abbreviations COR and CO[- -].[30] This is probably the abbreviation of a Latin name of a man belonging to the *gens* Cornelia.

Through these examples—as well as others that cannot be developed in the course of the present paper—,[31] it seems that a strict property administration and organization of the production were apparent, probably controlled by the same individual or the same family within each network. The fact that almost all the identifiable names on stamps are Roman, and moreover that they are written in Latin, proves that a large part of this economic exploitation was directly or indirectly connected to the Roman presence on the island. This is a very telling example of economic integration, consisting of a Roman *villa* system, run by Roman private owners residing on a Greek island.

Finally, the exceptional longevity of this exploitation has to be underlined. According to the data provided by the surveys and the stratigraphic contexts on the sites of importation, this exploitation was occurred between—at least—the first century BC and the fifth century AD. Nevertheless, the systematic exploitation of these resources led Melos to a high degree of integration,

29 This observation is mentioned in the unpublished PhD dissertation of Raptopoulos (2010, 350, 375).
30 Raptopoulos (2005, 172; 2010, 401, 410–11).
31 For further details and examples of other stamps, see Atkinson & Photos-Jones (2001, 80–1); Le Quéré (2015).

not only because Romans were involved, but also because the Melian products were integrated in large-scale trade.

## An Exploitation on a Mediterranean Scale

Indeed, an interesting matter concerning the trade of Melian alum and other minerals would be the geographical distribution of these products. A study of this issue can be attempted through an analysis of the distribution pattern of Melian amphorae on the sites of importation. Due to the fact that archaeologists have only recently shown an interest in these artefacts, no definitive proof can be presented here. However, up to this point, the examples found demonstrate that the distribution pattern of the Melian industrial minerals far exceeded the local frame, and even the regional frame of the Cyclades and of the Aegean. Indeed, Picon and Raptopoulos have recently identified the Milo 1a type amphorae. These were produced on Melos, in the sites of Type 1, for the transportation of Melian alum throughout the Mediterranean. These amphorae have been found in Arles and Cavaillon in the south of France,[32] as well as in Italy in Milan, Este, Padua, Verona, Concordia Sagittaria, and Aquileia.[33] In the eastern provinces, Melian amphorae have been identified at Kition of Cyprus.[34]

Based on the—limited—available data, a distribution map can be drawn (fig. 12.3).

However, this map actually reflects the preoccupations of archaeologists and researchers, who focus more on these artefacts in the western provinces, particularly in Italy and Gaul. Nevertheless, in spite of all these grey areas, the more recent studies do suggest that there was no strict division of markets and spheres of influence in the trade of alum. Indeed, a simplifying assumption would suggest that the alum of Lipari—the second biggest centre of alum production in the Roman Empire—served the western market, whereas the alum of Melos would be confined in the eastern market. Nevertheless, this assumption fails to explain why the Liparian amphorae reached Beirut, whereas those of Melos reached Gaul through the Rhône Valley.[35] The Adriatic appears as a place in which Liparian and Melian amphorae mingled. Moreover,

32 Borgard (2005, 165–6).

33 Bruno (1991, 283–90) for Milan; Cipriano et al. (2005, 190–1, fig. 6) for Este, Padua, and Concordia; Pesavento Mattioli (2005, 177–85) for Padua; Pesavento Mattioli (1998) for Verona; unpublished study of Carre for Aquileia.

34 Marquié et al. (2005, 201–10). See also Marquié (2004, 251–62).

35 Borgard (2005, 167).

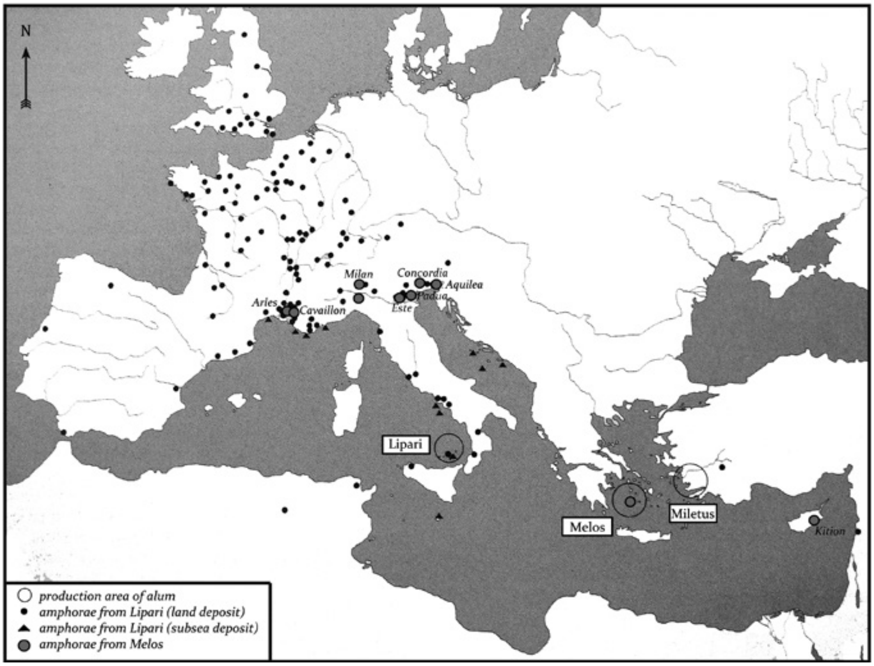


FIGURE 12.3 *Distribution map of alum amphorae (Lipari 1–2 & Milo 1a types) [Le Quéré (2015), after Borgard (2005, 164); Cipriano et al. (2005, 191)].*

archaeologists have found a Melian amphora (Milo 1a type) in Padua that bears the stamp [-]OR,[36] which is in all likelihood correlated with the Cor(nelii) of Aghia Kyriaki on Melos. Some other shards of Melian amphorae found in Verona bear the stamps EROT(is).[37]

The production and commercialization of Melian industrial minerals and amphorae therefore took place on a very large scale. These products were integrated in a vast network of trade that existed in spite of the relative insignificance of Melos on a geographical, political, and cultural level. In fact, Melos was part of a pan-Mediterranean economic system, which was mainly responsible for the island's integration into the Roman Empire. This example illustrates one of the favourite ideas of Horden and Purcell: the connectivity of the Mediterranean. However, the authors of *The Corrupting Sea*, while repeatedly evoking the example of Melos in their analyses, do not sufficiently take into

36 Cipriano et al. (2005, 190, fig. 5). In this article, the Melian amphorae are still included under the generic name *anfora ad impasto grezzo*.

37 Pesavento Mattioli (1998, 317, fig. 1.6; 320, fig. 6.6).

account the political factor, which is as essential as the geology, the ecology, or even the connectivity of the island with its surrounding world.

## An 'Opportunistic Exploitation'

The intense exploitation and exportation of Melian minerals, which granted the island a distinctive character among the Cyclades, was of course a result of its geographical position. Indeed, Melos is located in the middle of the Aegean Sea and at the heart of maritime networks that facilitated the exchanges between Eastern and Western provinces.[38] Interestingly, the same goes for Delos, although its role in commercial interactions declined during the Roman imperial times. Conversely, under Roman rule, some other less central and more remote regions experienced unprecedented economic exploitation. These variations are related to motives and decisions of a political nature. On this basis, explaining both the outstanding development and the exceptional integration of Melos requires a thorough analysis of the Roman politics, as well as the underlying concept of Roman 'imperialism' or hegemony.[39]

The political factor becomes evident when a comparison is made between the prosperity of Melos and the misfortune of Delos. The main key to the interpretation lies in the fact that Delos was an artificial creation of the Romans: its success was not so much due to the fame of its sanctuary as to its geostrategic position, in the centre of the Aegean Sea. However, under Roman rule, in a peaceful Mediterranean where Romans felt at home everywhere, this strategic location was no longer required. Subsequently, the Romans were mostly interested in the area's economic opportunities. As a result, contrary to Delos, Melos did not collapse, but prospered, as it possessed unique natural resources whose scarcity made their exploitation necessary in a world where all the provinces were economically dependent on each other. As far as Delos is concerned, the quarries were almost exhausted, while its amount of arable land was substantially smaller than in some other areas. It seems that the island of Apollo no longer offered anything from which the Romans could profit.

The Roman imperial economic system was partially established on a command economy and, to quote again Horden and Purcell, on an 'opportunistic exploitation'.[40] 'Staple' products for crafts and industry (such as alum and

38 Horden & Purcell (2000, 225–7).

39 On this topic, see also Woolf (1992).

40 Horden & Purcell (2000, 227). See also Mattingly (1997, esp. 134) who describes Africa as a 'landscape of opportunity'.

sulphur) or luxury products (such as Parian marble) required a strict organization for their production, distribution, and redistribution. Rome was by far the greatest market of the Empire. It is not surprising that the Romans incorporated into their economic networks even the smallest Mediterranean islands that produced what was highly demanded in the capital city, especially when the provinces of Italy were no longer able to satisfy these growing needs (the alum of Lipari for instance). This 'opportunistic exploitation' of Melian natural resources was a principal driving factor behind the island's integration into the Empire.

## Conclusion: Integration or Interaction?

The Cyclades—small islands, exemplars of poverty according to the ancient writers, geographically distant from the big political and economic centres of the Mediterranean, forgotten by the emperors who completely lost interest in them—were not forgotten at all from an economic point of view, and were integrated into the Empire, in the same way as any other Greek *polis*. The pattern of intensification and specialization of the production on Melos was a consequence of the thoroughly organized trade implementation throughout the Mediterranean. Indeed, the destination of the products was quite predictable and their quantification was more accurate than in previous times. This explains why Horden and Purcell—in spite of their refusal to take into account the institutional structures of power (*poleis*, states, empires) that are traditionally accepted by the historians of the Mediterranean as key elements to interpretation[41]—eventually admitted that the Roman imperial state organization actually engendered exceptional economic conditions in the Mediterranean, few parallels of which can be found in the history of the *longue durée*.[42] These exceptional economic conditions led, among others, to integration and interaction of the dominated territories.

The keyword is indeed 'interaction', fitting much better than 'Romanization'. In my point of view, this notion has the advantage of preserving the irreducible aspect of Greek autonomy and inventiveness, which were possibly more apparent in small-sized *poleis* and on small islands. This integration was not unilateral; we are dealing with bilateral, even multilateral integration, with both locals and Romans acting together. In this paper, I have repeatedly insisted on the exploitation of Melos by the Romans, because it is based on new and rather

41 See the remarks of Morris (2005, 38, 51).

42 Horden & Purcell (2000, 374–5).

unknown data among archaeologists and historians. However, it is important that this demonstration should not mislead the reader into believing that the integration of Melos was merely due to Roman economic exploitation. The success of the integration of the Cyclades was also a result of the integration of Romans and of other peoples into the political, economic, social, and cultural realities of the Cyclades, into Cycladic daily life, and into the structures that pre-existed in the islands.

This aspect cannot be adequately addressed in the course of the present paper.[43] However, two examples will be presented, which were not selected at random. One of the most important families of *negotiatores* implanted throughout the Eastern Mediterranean—essentially from the second half of the first century BC onwards—was the *gens* Cornelia.[44] As shown by ceramic stamps, members of this family were economically active on Melos. In particular, members of the *gens* Cornelia were probably owners of a mineral exploitation business, and are attested in Melian inscriptions until the end of the second century AD at least.[45] One of them, Lucius Cornelius Domitianus, was honoured, along with his daughter Cornelia Domitia, as *euergetes* of the *polis*.[46] As for the stamp EROT(is), it could be related to the name of the *mercator* Gaius Caelius Eros, who is mentioned in a Melian inscription from the first century BC, or to another benefactor of the *polis*, Lucius Magius Eros, who built a *stoa* in the agora of Melos in the first century AD.[47] There are numerous other examples indicating that Roman citizens and Roman freedmen who were involved in economic activities of the island were also *euergetes*, magistrates, priests, or ephebes—that is to say totally integrated in the daily life of the Melian *polis* and in the Greek culture and way of life.

Nevertheless, the Cycladic world could be characterized as a hierarchical one, given that not all islanders profited equally from the economic prosperity of Melos. The commercial destination of this island was increased and stressed

43 For a complete study, see Le Quéré (2014; 2015).

44 See the list of Hatzfeld (1919, 389), who does not mention Melos.

45 A funerary inscription (second-third century AD) mentions Lucius Cornelius Priscus and Novia Prisca, along with their children Cornelia Prisca, Cornelia Domitia, Cornelius Lucius, and Cornelius Fronton; several other funerary inscriptions still unpublished (first-second century AD) refer to Cornelia E[- - -]a, Gnaeus Cornelius Deidas, Gnaeus Cornelius Severus, and Gnaeus Cornelius Theomnesstos (*sic*). See IG 12.3, 1228 with Mendoni & Zoumbaki (2008, MEL 17, 21, 26–7).

46 IG 12.3, 1118 (first century AD?). See also Mendoni & Zoumbaki (2008, MEL 18, 22).

47 CIL 3, suppl. 14203; IG 12.3, 1078. For his daughter Magia Pulchra, who also built a small *stoa* in the agora of Melos, see IG 12.3, 1079. See also Mendoni & Zoumbaki (2008, MEL 7, 34–5).

under the Roman Empire only because the Roman power had created (and perhaps imposed?) favourable conditions for it. The exploitation of Melos—as well as of other Cycladic islands, such as Paros—could have sometimes occurred to the detriment of the local population, and may have threatened natural equilibria in the island's society. This is one of the reasons why the economic and commercial prosperity of some islands did not necessarily lead to the prosperity of the island's *poleis* and their inhabitants. Thus, in an imperial context, some islands and some islanders were able 'to get out while the going is good', whereas others were not. To quote Morris, there were 'winners and losers'[48] in these processes of integration and interaction.

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48 Morris (2005, 50–1).

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CHAPTER 13

# Roman Traders as a Factor of Romanization in Noricum and in the Eastern Transalpine Region

*Leonardo Gregoratti*

## Introduction

In 181 BC, according to Livy,[1] the *triumviri* Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Gaius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus founded the Latin colony of Aquileia, following a major incursion of large contingents of Transalpine Gauls, *Galli transgressi in Venetiam*.[2] Very soon the strategic position of the settlement and its role in the Roman network system proved themselves instrumental in the emergence of Aquileia's commercial function. The colony marked the limit of the area under Republican control, but it also became the starting point for any trade and commercial enterprise east and north of the Alps and for any attempt to extend Roman political and economic influence in Noricum and Pannonia. Strabo's words are a particularly clear illustration of this: 'Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister (Danube); the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive-oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides.'[3] Strabo's words show clearly the dual nature of the Roman settlement: Aquileia was both a military outpost and an *emporion*, a trade centre looking towards the regions east and north of the Alps.

Already from the end of the second century BC, merchants and businessmen from all Italy began to settle in the city lured by the possibilities of profit provided by the increasing demand for Italic products by those transalpine regions which were gradually entering the Roman sphere of influence. The period of the late Republic, especially the first century BC, witnessed a

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1 Liv. 39.54–5, 40.34.

2 Liv. 39.22; see Sartori (1960).

3 Strabo 5.1.8. See Panciera (1976, 153–4); Bandelli (2009).

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substantial increase in the movement of goods between Aquileia and the regions north-east of the Alps. The situation had in that time radically changed from the scenario depicted by Strabo. Instead of waiting to meet foreign tradesmen in Aquileia, Roman merchants began to move along the well-known ancient transalpine routes. They were in search of new, unexploited markets for their products and new and cheaper sources of raw materials for their manufacturing activities. This paper will investigate the trade relationships between Northern Italy and the *Regnum Norici*, an Alpine kingdom, friend and ally of the Romans, which controlled the mountainous region lying just north of the Italic X Regio, as well as with the Eastern transalpine region. It will investigate how trade relations and cultural interaction between Italians and locals changed the economy and culture of the regions involved.

## Trade in the Second and First Centuries BC

Several inscriptions attest the presence outside the Alps of Roman tradesmen or commercial agents, members of prominent Aquileian or north-Italic *gentes*, and *servi* or *liberti* closely connected to them. The Celtic settlement on the Magdalensberg, close to today's Klagenfurt, was the most important trading station of the *Regnum Norici*.[4] Here Italic merchants were certainly active from the middle of the first century BC, but several finds of Roman coins prove that the indigenous population was entertaining a commercial relationship with the Roman colonists of Aquileia already in the second century BC, probably by crossing the mountain ranges and entering the Roman territory, as narrated by Strabo. After 88 BC, when an international crisis affected the main Mediterranean *emporion* at Delos, Italic and Aquileian families began to organize a more stable commercial presence on the Magdalensberg.

The archaeological excavations on the site revealed a substantial amount of Italic pottery. Ceramic vessels, lamps, olive oil and Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6a amphorae containing wine reaching the settlement on the Magdalensberg, were taken in the several storehouses or immediately traded in the many *tabernae* in order to obtain amber, slaves, beasts, or the famous *ferrum Noricum*, which was brought to Aquileia and reworked into metal products. Some of these products later returned to Noricum by the same route. Many Aquileian

4 Winkler (1977, 195); Piccottini (1977, 292–3). Piccottin (1987, 292); Šasel Kos (1997, 30); Dolenz et al. (2009); Gleirscher (2009). Bruck (1961); Panciera (1976, 156); Pavan (1987, 21).

*gentes* left traces of themselves in the site's shops and storage rooms.[5] Among them the best attested is the Aquileian *gens* Barbia, which managed to establish near-monopoly control of the supply of raw iron which was sent south; they simultaneously made large profits selling Italic products to the local population. In the Carinthian mountains, far from the territory of the *colonia* Aquileia, more than fifteen inscriptions prove the presence of dozens of Barbii.[6] Most of them were freedmen employed by the *gens*' leadership in Aquileia as local commercial agents, in charge of safeguarding the family's economic interests abroad and managing the trade and transport of goods to and from the Roman centre.

An important inscription of dedication which can be read on the thigh of the famous 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg', now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien, sheds light on the role of the Barbii north of the Alps. The statue represents a young man and was found in 1502. Only a sixteenth-century copy remains, since the original piece was lost in Spain in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century. The inscriptions on the statue reads *Aulus Poblicius Decimi libertus Antiocus, Tiberius Barbius Quinti Publii libertus Tiber*[*inus or -ianus*]. The original statue was found with his shield, now also lost. On the weapon the inscription continued: *M. Gallicinus Vindili filius, Lucius Barbius Lucii libertus Philoterus pr*(*ocurator*), *Craxsantus Barbii Publii servus*.[7] Altogether five dedicators are mentioned in the text, which is dated to the Augustan period,[8] but what makes the inscription exceptional is that the role of some of the men is well specified. *Aulus* is a freedman of the Poblicii, a *gens* documented in late Republican Aquileia and active in the production of bricks.[9] Perhaps he was the same man who is mentioned in a dedication from Aquileian territory, to *Veica Noriceia*.[10] This deity is difficult to identify but, judging from the name, was probably connected with Noricum. Aulus, who bears a Greek name, was therefore a *libertus* somehow responsible for the communications with

5 Panciera (1976, 164–8); Piccottini (1987, 293, 297–303; 1990a, 283–5, 288); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 122); Zaccaria (1994, 58–9); Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger (1998, 288); Tassaux (2004, 172–3).

6 CIL 3.4815 = ILLPRON 1272; CIL 3.4886 = ILLPRON 264; CIL 3.11561 = ILLPRON 261; CIL 3.11562 = ILLPRON 291; CIL 3.11563 = ILLPRON 262; CIL 3.11564 = ILLPRON 263; CIL 3.11565 = ILLPRON 264. See Šašel (1966, 120–1).

7 CIL 3.4815 = ILLPRON 1272. See Thaller (1950, 147); Vetters (1954, 33–4); Piccottini (1977, 264–5); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 123–4); Glaser (2002).

8 Heinzmann (2000).

9 CIL 5.717 = $1^2$ 2217 = ILS 4889 = ILLPRON 268; CIL 5.1008 = IA 617; CIL 5.1072 = IA 800; CIL 5.6630; CIL 5.8357 = IA 969; CIL 5.8437 = IA 1378; IA 570. See Calderini (1930, 535–6 n. 1–6).

10 CIL 5.717. See Egger (1956); Degrassi (1965, 251–2).

Noricum on behalf of the company of his patron Decimus. Tiberius was a *libertus* of two Barbii, Quintus and Publius, probably two brothers. The fact that he is a freedman of both and seems to be connected with a third one, Tiberius, might suggest that he was an important man for the interests of the gens in the Norican lands in general and for the company of Quintus and Publius in particular.

An aspect which in my opinion has not been sufficiently emphasised in the several studies dedicated to the statue and his inscriptions concerns the relevance of the artefact itself. An object like the 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg' represents an important and expensive votive offering, whose function was to display and demonstrate the prestige, the wealth and the social importance of the dedicators. Therefore it can be assumed that the men and the families whose names appear on the statue were important in the social and economic milieu of the Norican town. Men like Tiberius and Aulus were probably key personalities for the trading members of the Poblicii and the Barbii and probably for all Italians within the alpine community. This includes important men such as Lucius Barbius Philoterus, the second *libertus* of the Barbii mentioned in the text, who is characterized differently from the others by the term *procurator*: trade agent. Lucius explicitly mentions his work as agent of the Barbii and possibly of the Poblicii, marking the difference from his colleagues.

In this context of 'important personalities' the remaining two persons seem particularly interesting. M. Gallicinus is undoubtedly a Norican. His name is documented only in this inscription and it seems he has adopted a Latin name, meaning Celt. His father Vindilus has an indigenous name found only in the Noricum area.[11] Marcus Gallicinus was probably a native of the Norican town, probably a rich and influential personality of the indigenous community of the Magdalensberg, involved in trade with the Romans. It would have been impossible for the Aquileian families to organize an efficient traffic to and from Italy without the support and collaboration of some local group. Probably Gallicinus and his family, being in close contact with the Romans, had quickly adopted the lifestyle of the newcomers, as attested by their contribution to the statue and its Latin inscription; this possibly enhanced their role and prestige in the society thanks to his activity and social connections.

The last name is the most interesting one. Craxsantus was a slave with a Celtic name found only here, which probably meant 'toad'. What is surprising is the fact that a slave of the Barbii appears in such a prestigious context. Inscriptions mentioning slaves not yet freed are normally rare. Probably Craxsantus, who unlike Tiberius, belonged to one of the Barbii brothers, played

11 Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 124).

a key role in the activity of the group. Possibly like Gallicinus his activity was fundamental to securing the support and collaboration of the local population. It is hard to imagine that a slave who was allowed to take part to this dedication, because of his merits and probably his wealth, would have had to wait very long to become a *libertus*. It very likely that he was freed by Publius Barbius soon afterwards and was given a role of responsibility comparable to those of the others, probably taking the name of Publius Barbius *Publii libertus* Craxsantus.

This would be no surprise: several *liberti* connected with Italic families, bearing Celtic indigenous names, are documented on the Magdalensberg, but not in the *gens* Barbia. The freedmen of the Barbii in fact all seem to have 'Greek' names. An inscription from Laubendorf,[12] dated to the first century BC, gives evidence of close contacts, probably economic, between the Barbia *gens* and a minor Italic gens in Noricum, the Cispii. Four *liberti* are mentioned there. The one belonging exclusively to the Barbii is the only one characterized by a 'Greek' name, while all the others, even the two common *liberti* of the two *gentes*, bear a Celtic-Norican name (Trouca, Suadrus, and Exapia). In a later inscription a Publius Barbius *Spurii f.* Cirro, a Roman of Celtic origin, marries one of his slaves, Amma.[13] According to Egger's interpretation, Cirro adopted all of his wife's three sons. What needs to be pointed out is the fact that only the two born as slaves, the mother Amma and the first son, have a 'Greek' name; the others seem to have Celtic or Roman names connected with the provincial context.

The *gens* Barbia employed mainly freedmen for its commercial enterprises in Noricum. Almost all of them on the Magdalensberg have 'Greek' names. Most probably among the Barbii, as among other Aquieian *gentes*, like the Poblicii, it was fashionable to give 'Greek' names to new-born slaves. Given the number of important *liberti* of the Barbii involved in trade in Noricum on behalf of their patrons in Aquileia and considering that most of these inscriptions are dated very early, it is likely that these 'Greek' *liberti* had come from the city of Aquileia itself, where the patrons lived and where the cultural milieu was quite sophisticated. They were born there and trained as slaves and later as *liberti* within the Barbii families. Other families, like the Cispii and Titii,[14] presumably preferred to make use of individuals of local origin, bearing Celtic

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12 AE 1961.73 = ILLPRON 22. See Egger (1961); Šašel (1966, 120); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 129).

13 CIL 3.11563 = ILLPRON 262. See Šašel (1966, 120–1).

14 CIL 3.11602 = ILLPRON 287; CIL 3.11601 = ILLPRON 263; CIL 3.4886 = ILLPRON 246; CIL 3.11603 = ILLPRON 284.

names. Šašel suggests that these were bought in Noricum, trained in Aquileia and then, once freed, appointed to some position of responsibility in the transalpine trade.[15] The relevance of specific Norican names among them does not exclude the possibility that these freedmen could be local slaves trained on the spot within the local businessmen community.

The case of Craxsantus, given also the recent later dating of the inscription to the Augustan era, could possibly represent a later evolution of the policy of the Barbii family. Probably at that time the Barbii had already begun to follow the example of other *gentes* in training slaves of local origin, so that they could choose their commercial agents from among them. This change was probably connected with the Roman annexation of the *regnum Noricum* in 15 BC and to the acceleration of the processes of Romanization and amalgamation between Romans and locals which would eventually lead to the establishment of the Roman *municipium* of Virunum in the Claudian period and to the state's reorganization of the trade with the Transalpine region.

### Trade in the *vicus* Nauportus

During the Principate the area under direct control of Rome expanded considerably beyond the Alps including a large portion of the north western Danube basin as far as the main course of the river. The military conquest and pacification of Illyricum, in 6–9 AD, offered the Aquileian trading families new opportunities to expand their sphere of activity. During this period the volume of traffic and the number of Italic tradesmen involved increased significantly, along with the overall complexity of the trade network and the level of integration of foreign merchants in the new acquired territories.[16]

This commercial activity found a major role in the process of Romanisation and provincialisation of the newly conquered territories. Imperial leadership promoted the foundation of Roman settlements in the areas. The agents of the Aquileian *gentes* were naturally among the first immigrants to settle in the newly founded centres. Exporting Italic products, and through these the Roman way of life, they promoted the cultural change among the indigenous social elites, ensuring at the same time a continuous supply of western products for the other Roman settlers and for the soldiers of the legions guarding the frontiers and their families. It is no surprise then that these Italic traders, and in particular the freedmen, managed to become prominent figures in the

15 Šašel (1959).

16 Pavan (1987, 21–2); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 118–19).

new towns' societies, holding relevant political offices in the civic government of the new foundations where they had transferred their activity.

This process of increasing integration by the merchants in the territories beyond the Alps was noticed by Tacitus in describing the later presence of Italic merchants among the Marcomanni: 'There they (the Germans) discovered a number of sutlers and traders out of the Roman provinces, drawn from their respective homes and implanted on hostile soil first by the commercial privileges, then by the lure of increased profits, and finally by oblivion of their country'.[17] Very soon thereafter the Aquileian agents moved towards the Danube basin and the north-western Balkan peninsula where the Roman province of Pannonia was gradually taking shape. The remarkable economic interest stimulated by the routes and the regions east of the Alps is perfectly illustrated by a passage of Strabo: 'The merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus (over a road of not much more than four hundred stadia); from here, however, it is carried down by the rivers as far as the Ister and the districts in that part of the country; for there is, in fact, a river which flows past Nauportus; it runs out of Illyria, is navigable, and empties into the Sava, so that the merchandise is easily carried down to Segestica and the country of the Pannonii and Taurisci.'[18] Thus the key factor was the possibility of using the rivers Liubljanica, Sava, and Danube to move the goods easily and quickly to very distant destinations like the indigenous centre of Segestica.

From Aquileia an important road led to the Danube basin region. It crossed the Alps and headed eastwards, meeting the river Liubljanica near the town of Nauportus. Nauportus, today's Vrhnika, was a Roman *vicus* which was, according to Tacitus, granted an almost municipal autonomy. It arose from the mid-first century BC, when Roman territorial control began to include the region immediately east of the Alps, on the site of an ancient Celtic market place. Placed in the territory of Aquileia, for some decades it was the last Roman trading post on the route going to the East. At Nauportus cargoes were transferred from waggons to boats and conveyed down the rivers Emona (Liubljanica) and Savus (Sava) and further downstream to the Danube.[19] Archaeological excavations on the site tend to confirm the ancient writers' descriptions of the town. On the right bank of the Liubljanica a large settlement dated between the late Republican period and the reign of Augustus is characterized almost

17 Tac. *Ann.* 2.62.

18 Strabo 4.6. 10.

19 Tac. *Ann.* 1.10; Plin. *NH* 3.22. See Šašel Kos (1990, 143- 7); Horvat (2009, 366).

exclusively by structures connected with trade activity: docks, storehouses, and *tabernae*.[20]

The few inscriptions found at Nauportus confirm the interest of Aquileian families, or of Italic families with strong connections with Aquileia, in the mercantile activity of the river station. An inscription dated to the second half of the first century BC, mentions a certain Publius Petronius *Publii libertus* Amphio and his colleague Gaius Fabius *Gaii libertus* Corbo, both freedmen and *magistri vici*, low-ranking officials, but undoubtedly fundamental in the life of the *vicus*. Their precise function is still matter of debate, but it is generally thought that the *magistri vici* supervised building activity, religious services and possibly, given the nature of the town, also its commercial activity.[21]

Another couple of *magistri vici* from Nauportus, Quintus Annaius *Quinti libertus* Torravius and Marcus Fulginas *Marci libertus* Philogenes, were responsible for the building of a *porticus*.[22] All these families, the Petronii, the Fabii, and the Annaii, are well known from Aquileia. There are not many epigraphic texts in the station of Nauportus, but they are nonetheless extremely important, in the light of the relative short life of the settlement, which lost all his importance at the end of the Augustan era. From the texts it seems evident that at Nauportus, during its few decades of existence, the most important local offices were held by men belonging to or closely connected with families which were prominent, rich and influent in contemporary Aquileia.[23] Nauportus was in fact a *vicus* placed within the jurisdiction of Aquileian territory at least in the Augustan period.[24]

Given the example of the numerous Barbii freedmen at the Magdalensberg it is similarly possible to link the strong presence of freedmen in Nauportus with the key role the town played in connecting the land route from Italy to the river routes towards the Balkan peninsula. Like their colleagues at the Magdalensberg the Aquileian *liberti* operated here as local trade agents for their families. Due to their lucrative activities, they were soon able to gain a prestigious role within the local societies and occupy those offices of city administration not precluded by the status of freedmen. Here also, as on the Magdalensberg, some of these had 'Greek' *cognomina* (Amphio, Philogenes),

20 Mušič & Horvat (2007a; 2007b); Horvat (2008b).

21 CIL 3.3776 = ILS 4876. See Zaccaria (1985, 97, 100; 1991, 62); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 137–8); Šašel Kos (1996, 83–8; 1998; 2003, 15).

22 CIL 3.3777 = RINMS n. 1. See Alföldy (1974, 112); Zaccaria (1985, 11); Šašel Kos (1990, 149; 1998, 103).

23 Bandelli (1984; 1988a; 1988b); Šašel (1987, 149); Tassaux (2000, 391–5); Chiabà (2003, 82–3).

24 Šašel Kos (2002a; 2002b; 2003).

others typically Norican ones (Torravius, Corbo). It seems that amalgamation of a sort between *liberti* of local origin and foreign ones occurred here earlier than north of the Alps due Roman municipal organization. Both were present in the local municipal administration.

What makes Nauportus interesting, apart from its peculiar commercial function, is the relatively short life of the town: its commercial relevance lasted about half a century. Tacitus in his *Annales* relates that during the turmoil in the region which followed Augustus' death in 14 AD, the town was sacked by the military units stationed there and engaged in the construction of roads and bridges. It seems that Nauportus never recovered. Very likely what caused its economic decline was not the pillage by mutinous military units, but the building activities they were engaged in before the news of the *princeps*' death spread through the region.[25]

Festus dates to precisely Augustus' last years the completion of the main road connecting Aquileia with Emona, the modern Lubijana, 15 miles east of Nauportus. The building of an efficient Roman road network reduced the volume of traffic along the rivers. The new land routes promoted the development of the settlements at strategic points where the main roads met. Emona was one of these settlements close to conjunction of several routes, not far from two navigable rivers.[26] Emona was founded as a Roman *castrum* at the end of the first century BC. It became a *colonia* probably already under Octavianus. The importance of the city increased in the first century AD with the building of the new main road. In the early Principate, Nauportus gradually lost its former importance and decayed while Emona quickly replaced it. A recent epigraphic discovery demonstrated that it belonged to the territory of the Italic *X Regio*, which thus extended itself over both sides of the Eastern Alps.[27]

Like at Nauportus, at Emona inscriptions demonstrate that many inhabitants in the very early phases of the city's life came from Aquileia and maintained strong bonds with their hometown. Several members of the well-known Aquileian *gens* of the Caesernii lived in Emona. Titus Caesernius Diphilus was a freedman,[28] *sexvir* of Aquileia, and buried in Emona where he died. Other

25 Plesnicar-Gec (1976); Šašel Kos (1990, 147–8); Horvat (2009, 369).

26 Šašel (1975/6, 604); Mušič & Horvat (2007a, 267; 2007b, 171); Horvat (2008b, 118); Zaccaria (2007, 315).

27 Plesnicar-Gec (1976, 120–1); Šašel Kos (1995, 230–4; 2003; 2005, 441; 2012, 87–90); Vičič (2003, 21–4); Zaccaria (2007, 122).

28 AIJ 176 = RINMS n.3. See Šašel (1960, 204–5); Šašel Kos (1995, 230; 1998, 104–5; 1999, 174–5; 2012, 91); Zaccaria (1985, 112); Tassaux (2000, 393); Mráv (2001, 88–9); Buonopane (2003, 353).

*liberti* of the family are attested in later times like Titus Caesernius Ianuarius *Titi libertus*,[29] *sexvir* at Emona. Well attested are also the Marcii. Lucius Marcius Philotimus,[30] a freedman, was *sexvir* of Aquileia, but probably lived or conducted some activity in Emona. Eutychos and Perigenes were the two freedmen of Titus Vellius Onesimus who made a dedication to Diana.[31] Their patron was a *sexvir* and *augustalis* in Emona, *sexvir* in Aquileia, and *augustalis* at Parentium on the Dalmatian coast; the two *liberti* were probably his agents in Emona. Lucius Cantius *Luci f.* Proculus of the Velina tribe, the tribe of Aquileia, built a tomb in Emona for his parents Probatus and Cirrata, both freedmen of a certain Lucius Cantius. The reliefs which decorate the tomb demonstrate clearly that this branch of the *gens* Cantia was active in the metal manufacturing industry.[32]

The inscriptions of Emona mention many of the traditional, rich, influential, and well documented Aquileian families. It is evident from this short list that some of the Aquileian immigrants held municipal offices both in Aquileia and Emona, evidence of the strong connections between the leading classes of the two cities. Among them there were some *liberti*. At Emona, unlike on the Magdalensberg and at Nauportus all *liberti* belonging to Aquileian *gentes* have Latin or Greek names. More than elsewhere, in Emona the Aquileian freedmen were in a close relationship with their home town. The town was established as a colony early on, based on a previous military camp was only settled by traders later, after Nauportus' abandonment, by which time the population already had a close familiarity with Roman culture. It was probably this which allowed the Aquileian trade families to employ almost exclusively Roman citizens or *liberti* coming from Aquileia, without recruiting agents from the local population as the Barbii had done earlier in Noricum and at Nauportus.

## Conclusion

The presence of local agents in the trading activities of Aquileian traders varied through time. On the Magdalensberg foreign agents were present alongside indigenous ones with the purpose to promote the collaboration with the

29 CIL 3.3850= AIJ 177 = RINMS n.47. See Zaccaria (1985, 114).

30 CIL 3.10772; ZACCARIA 1985, p. 112.

31 CIL 3.3836A = RINMS n.9a. See Zaccaria (1985, 112); Šašel Kos (1999, 175–6; 2003, 16; 2008, 698–9).

32 CIL 3.3857 = AIJ 183. See Leber (1970, 500); Zaccaria (1985, 113; 2004, 35, 46); Harding & Jacobsen (1988, 139).

locals. Even families like the Barbii later found it convenient to begin to recruit agents among the local Romanized population. At Nauportus both local and foreign *liberti* are part of the settlement's leading classes. Finally at Emona, a long-established Roman city, where the merchants moved only in later times, trade families used their own staff from Aquileia or recruited individuals from the Roman inhabitants of the city. What all the local agents had in common was a familiarity with the Roman way of doing business, and that they used this knowledge to way acquire status within their communities. Thus these local agents cleverly manipulated the opportunities that trade with representatives of Aquileia, and thus of Rome, offered them.

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CHAPTER 14

# Spreading Virtues in Republican Italy

*Daniele Miano*

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the development and the diffusion of Virtues in Republican Italy. By 'Virtues' I mean divinities who share their name with concepts, like Salus, Victoria, Concordia, et cetera. In ancient literary sources that give definitions of these divinities, they are not said to be identical with the concepts they are named after; for example, Victoria is the goddess who bestows victory, and there is, therefore, a distinction between the divinity and the benefit conceded.[1] Nevertheless, it is clear that the goddess and the concept are strictly correlated. It is this strong relationship which potentially makes the study of this kind of divinity a particularly important tool for understanding the cultural history of Republican Italy.

This paper will address several questions. The first one is whether or not Virtues played any role in the creation of a cultural *koine* in Ancient Italy. I shall consider if, and why, different towns, communities, and peoples tried to appropriate these conceptual divinities, and whether or not they were associated with Roman identity and connected to Roman political power. In other words I shall look at phenomena of Hellenization and Romanisation. The traditional model, as formulated by Fears in the eighties, tended to describe the development and the diffusion of these goddesses as follows: the Virtues come from the Greeks, and were introduced by the Romans in a conscious Hellenising act.[2] The obvious consequence is that the Romans spread them through the rest of Italy, as if the Romans had direct access to the Greek East

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1 See Cic. *Leg*. 2.28 with Dyck (2004, 332–6). See also the parallel passage Cic. *Nat. D*. 2.60–2, with commentary by Pease (1958, 689–98).

2 Fears (1981, 875–7).

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from which their fellow Italians were precluded. When Fears elaborated this model, he was following what was then the scholarly orthodoxy on the phenomena of Hellenization and Romanization in Italy, i.e. that Hellenization and Romanization were two parallel phenomena, and Hellenistic culture was spread in Italy through Roman influence.[3] This whole academic reconstruction is now in crisis. There may be instances in which a Greek influence on the early development of some of these divinities could be detected, but this is quite rare. The second part of the equation, however, is still firmly rooted in modern scholarship, and we find in several recent and excellent publications the assumption that every manifestation of the goddess Victoria, for example, must always be interpreted as the product of Roman influence, one way or another.[4]

Wallace-Hadrill has recently proposed to read cultural change in Republican Italy using the model of bilingualism, rather than Hellenization or Romanization.[5] Wallace-Hadrill takes language as an important marker of identity, but recognizes that "language is by no means the only marker, not even a necessary marker; its potency in this respect lies in the close association between language and the concepts it expresses".[6] What is implied is that the instruments employed by linguists to interpret a bilingual text might also be used with profit by historians to read other types of evidence, such as archaeology, in order to analyse cultural phenomena. Although Osborne warned of the dangers and difficulties of this approach,[7] I find it cogent to the subject of this paper. Wallace-Hadrill underlined the close relationship between language and concepts, and we are dealing here with divinities who are also concepts. Clark recently underlined that divine Virtues or Qualities were probably accessible to a wider audience because they were located in the intersection between concepts, languages, and religion.[8]

When considering the conceptual aspect of Virtues, it is essential to keep in mind the essential work of Koselleck, which I find particularly useful for historical studies. Starting from the triad word-concept-object, Koselleck argues that concepts "possess a substantial claim to generality and always have many meanings—in historical science, occasionally in modalities other than

3 See, in particular, Zanker (1976). See discussion in Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 17–28).

4 E.g. Stek (2013, 346).

5 Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 3–143). The essential study on bilingualism in Italy is Adams (2004, esp. 111–84).

6 Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 97).

7 Osborne (2012).

8 Clark (2007, 16).

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words".[9] There is a relationship between concepts and words: "a word becomes a concept only when the entirety of meaning and experience within a socio-political context within which and for which a word is used can be condensed into one word".[10] Virtues definitely have many similarities to concepts as formulated by Koselleck. The main difference between the concepts (*Begriffe*) of Koselleck and—for example—*victoria* was that the latter was bestowed by a goddess in Rome. Victoria also had, like any other divinity, a temple, a festival, a cult statue, and priestly personnel; she was involved in prodigies and their expiations, sacrifices were performed in her honour, and individual votive gifts were offered to her: she had very concrete 'resources', as Clark calls them.[11] As Victoria was a deity she was not precisely a concept, but a goddess whose aim is to bestow the associated benefit. The lack of perfect identity between Victoria and the concept, however, is an advantage. Since a large part of this paper considers a historical period for which there is no contemporary literary evidence, or only fragmentary evidence, it is impossible to study the concept of *victoria* in that period. The goddess Victoria, however, is connected to many elements which are extra-textual: on the one hand we have information on the foundation of temples and on vows by public officials and on prodigies and their expiation, which are known from non-contemporary literary evidence but which are likely to be based on official state records.[12] On the other hand, we have bits of contemporary fragmentary evidence, like archaeological remains and epigraphic dedications. Studying Virtues, therefore, puts us in an intermediate ground between conceptual history, history of religions, and social and cultural history, and in turn the results of this study can provide useful insights on a great range of historical questions.

A serious challenge to us will be the relatively small quantity of material from Italian towns. We have literary evidence and inscriptions from 43 places in Republican Italy (see appendix). Moreover, most of this evidence consists of single epigraphic dedications or occasional information preserved by ancient sources, which hardly allows a systematic account of local divinities. I believe that such a limited amount of evidence makes it particularly desirable to study this material in a broad, comparative prospective. At the same time, however, one must keep in mind the nature and the limits of literary and epigraphic evidence. The same can be said for numismatic evidence. One faces here, if possible, even bigger challenges. The only Virtue with a relatively big corpus

9 Koselleck (2004, 84–5).

10 Ibidem, 85.

11 Clark (2007, 13–17).

12 Oakley (1997, 60–1).

of evidence is Victoria/Nike, which is attested in 24 Italian towns as the main coin-type, and in 21 Italian towns as a companion to other characters. I have discussed the numismatic evidence on Victoria elsewhere.[13] What is relevant here is that the presence of a cult of Victoria in these towns is confirmed by literary or epigraphic evidence only for Rome and, perhaps, Capua. This lack of correspondence between coin-types and other evidence raises the suspicion that the representation of Virtues on coins does not necessarily imply the presence of a cult in the town. This will be verified for other Virtues.

My paper will be structured as follows. Firstly, I shall outline the diffusion of Virtues over time as we can reconstruct it from the available evidence, which is mostly epigraphic. After that I shall focus on specific case studies.

## Virtues in Republican Italy: The Diffusion

If we consider the diffusion of Virtues outside of Rome, we have to start in the fourth century BC with only two towns in Latium: Praeneste and Tusculum. The evidence is mostly epigraphic and related to the goddesses Fortuna, Victoria, and Salus. The material from Praeneste is easily datable and abundant, whereas in the case of Tusculum the only piece of reasonably early evidence we may have is quite controversial: it is a third-century BC dedication to Fortuna which, according to Ritschl, might be a copy of an older inscription.[14] Moreover, the individual offering the inscription, M. Furius, might have been a Roman magistrate, so perhaps we could not use it as evidence for an independent cult of Fortuna at Tusculum, which was incorporated in the Roman state as a *municipium* very early (381 BC).

In the early third century BC (figure 14.1) we have two inscriptions on stone from Gabii with dedications to Fortuna. Moreover, we have several finds of portable objects with dedications to Virtues from marginal areas, like Teate, Horta, Vulci, Picenum, Otranto, and perhaps Herakleia, which involve Fortuna, Salus, Concordia and Aequitas.

13 Miano (forthcoming).

14 Ritschl (1858, 290). Poccetti (1982, 664, 671–4) questions the authenticity of the inscription, supposing it to be a Late-Republican forgery. It is accepted as genuine with some reservation by Granino Cecere (2005, n. 319). Diaz Arino & Gorostidi Pi (2010) have recently argued that the inscription should rather be a gift from a senior Tusculan magistrate from the third century BC.

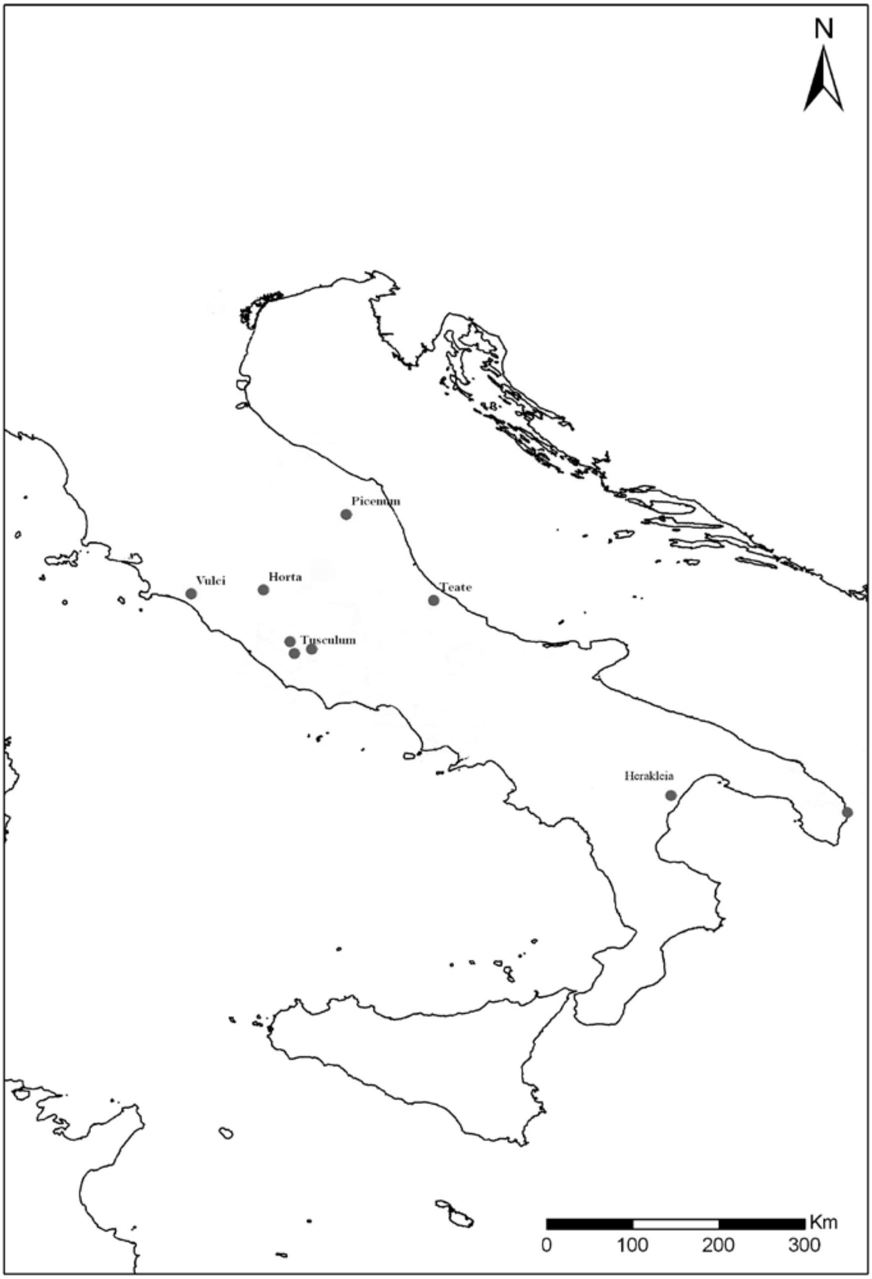


FIGURE 14.1 *The distribution of cults of Virtues in the early third century* BC.

These finds are of great significance because they come from areas relatively far from, and independent of, Roman power, and they will be discussed thoroughly in the next section of the paper. In the later part of the century (figure 14.2) we have a number of dedications from a rather larger number of towns: Aricia, Capua, Signia, Beneventum, *vicus Supinum*, Veii, and Gabii.

The divinities attested are Fortuna, Victoria, and Honos. We have towns from Latium incorporated into the Roman state (Aricia, Gabii, Signia), prefectures (Capua, Veii), a Latin colony (Beneventum, founded in 268 BC), and an independent community in the region of the Marsi with connections with Campania and Latium (*vicus Supinum*).[15]

In the second century BC (figure 14.3) there are a good many communities worshipping an increasingly large number of Virtues. Alongside the well-established divinities like Fortuna, Victoria, and Salus we find a group of divinities whose cults were not attested in places other than Rome before this time: Mens, Spes, Fides, and Valetudo. Most of the evidence for this period comes from colonies or prefectures: we have Latin colonies (Cora, Fregellae, Spoletium), towns incorporated in the Roman state (Lanuvium), Roman colonies (Pisaurum, Puteoli), prefectures (Casinum, Capua), and two independent communities (*vicus Anninus* in the region of the Marsi and the Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante).

The Virtues spread further during the first century BC (figure 14.4). In this period we find cults of Salus, Mens, Fortuna, Victoria, Concordia, Spes, Honos, and Virtus. Obviously, in the first century BC there was the huge change of status of all Italian towns resulting from the Social War and its aftermath, i.e. enfranchisement and municipalisation.[16] In most cases we do not have sufficient evidence to determine whether the dedication to a Virtue occurred before or after municipalisation, which obviously did not happen overnight. It is therefore useful to note that we have dedications to Virtues from the usual variety of towns of different statuses: towns in Latium that received Roman citizenship after the Latin War, Latin colonies (Alba Fucens, Brundisium, Cales, Cora), Roman colonies (Minturnae, Ostia, Paestum, Tarracina, Fanum, Scolacium), one extra-urban sanctuary, that of Victoria at the Cutilia lake, which might have been considerably more ancient, and Pompeii, an independent

15 With regard to the oldest inscription, see the extensive commentary in Letta & D'Amato (1975, n. 128, p. 193); Clark (2007, 198–9); Stek (2010, 162–5); for the dating, now Buonocore (2009, 283 n. 271).

16 For a broad discussion of municipalisation in the first century BC see Bispham (2007); on *municipia* in general see also Humbert (1978).

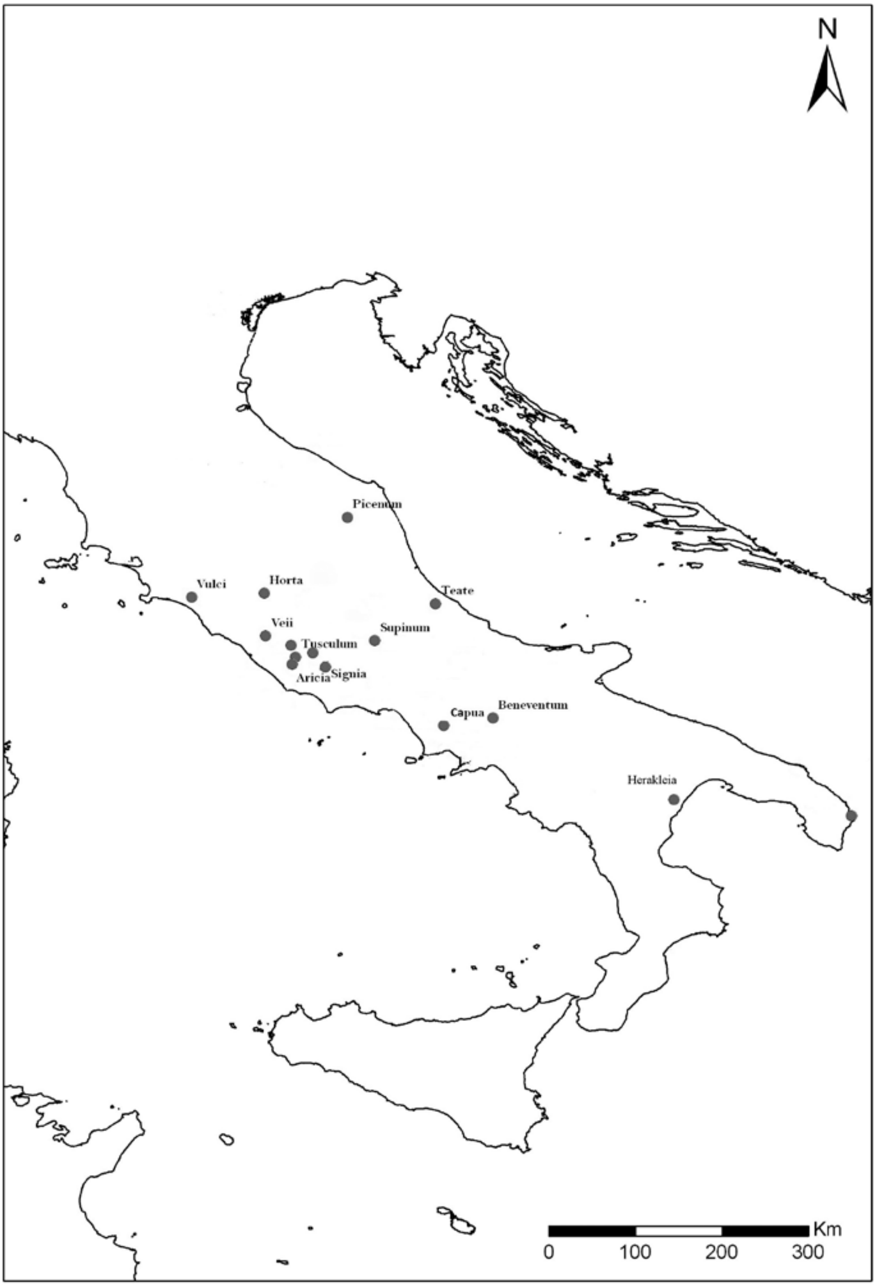


FIGURE 14.2 *The distribution of cults of Virtues in the late third century* BC.

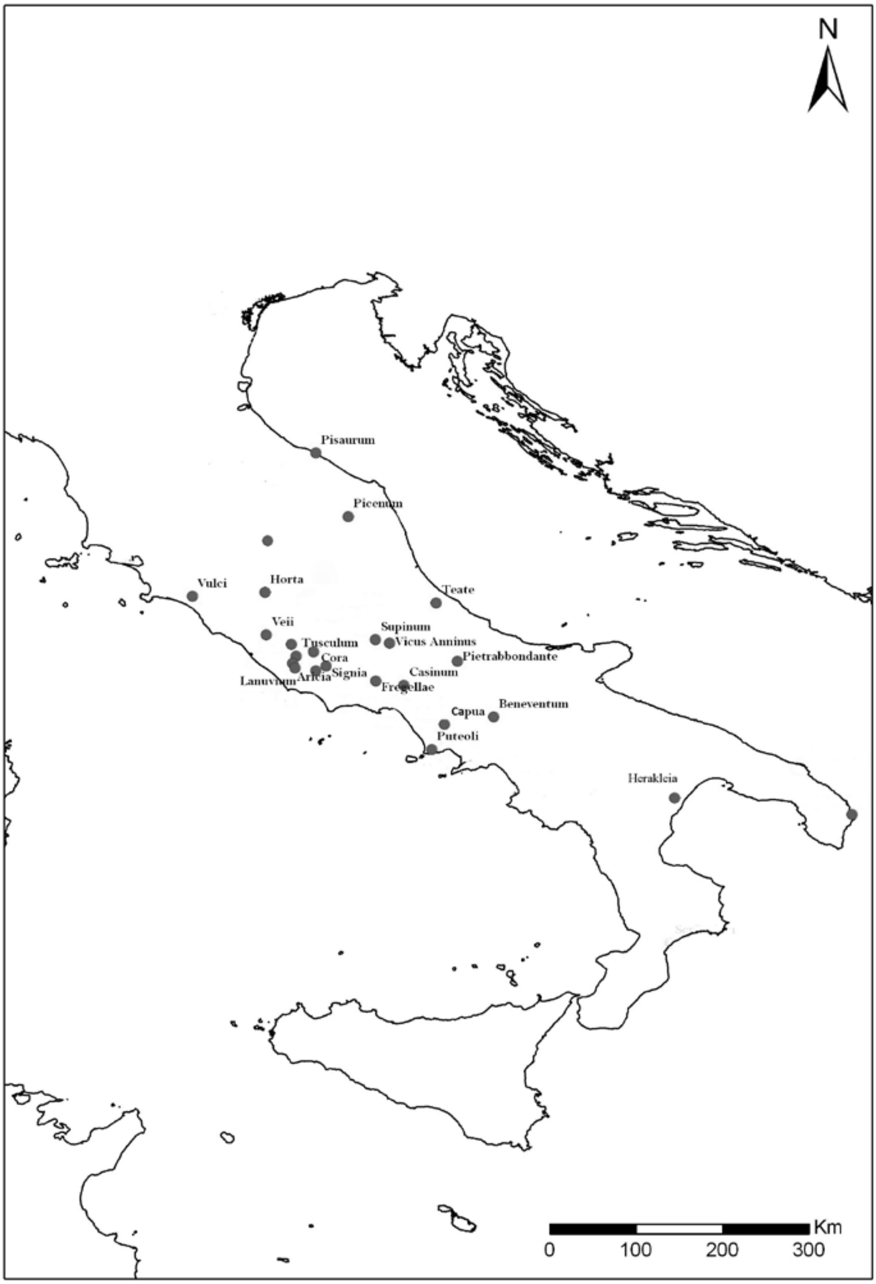


FIGURE 14.3 *The distribution of cults of Virtues in the second century* BC.

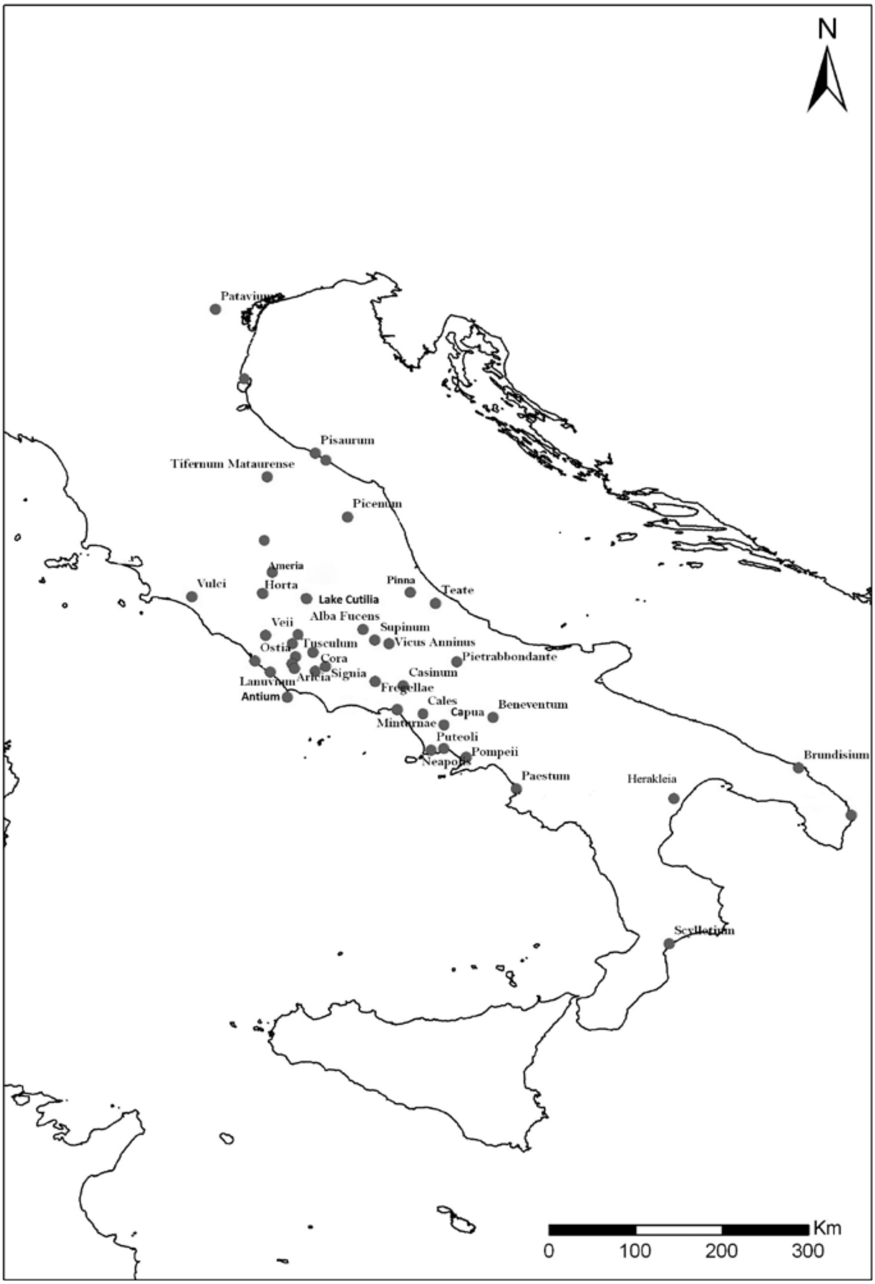


FIGURE 14.4 *The distribution of cults of Virtues in the first century BC.*

town, later *colonia* or *municipium*.[17] Dedications to Fortuna from Tifernum and Patavium probably belong to the later part of the century.

There are two things that should be noted from this general discussion of literary and epigraphic evidence. The first is that, except for the case of gifts at Pietrabbondante with inscriptions in Oscan, and an uncertain dedication in Greek from Herakleia, all the evidence is in the Latin language. It is certainly striking that the diffusion of Virtues is clearly connected with the diffusion of Latin language and culture. A second observation to be made is that there seems to be a relationship between towns worshipping Virtues and Roman political influence, which becomes especially close from the second century BC onwards. However, this relationship is never exclusive, and we always find independent communities offering gifts to Virtues, sometimes strongly related to non-Roman and even non-Latin identities (see **Hanúseís** and **Vikturraí** from Pietrabbondante, but also the Sabine cult of Nike at the Cutilia Lake). Moreover, one must beware of circularity here, because Roman power becomes increasingly influential in Italy from the second century BC.

I discussed above the limits of the numismatic evidence, and I mentioned how the coinage with Nike/Victoria seems to suggest that Virtues represented on coins did not necessarily have cults in the towns that minted the issues, with the exception of Rome and Capua. Numismatic evidence for other Virtues does not make the situation any better. We have fourth-century BC coins from Locri representing Εἰρήνη,[18] but we have no other evidence for a local cult of the goddess, who was worshipped in Athens at the same time.[19] Equally difficult to interpret are the coins from Metapontum bearing the inscription Σωτηρία,[20] and showing a female head. These coins belong to a series of issues depicting Demeter with the titles Ὑγιεία and Ὁμόνοια,[21] which suggests that Σωτηρία here should also be an epiclesis of Demeter.[22] We also have a third-century BC issue from Rubi representing a female figure with cornucopia and *patera* bowl, which might be interpreted as a representation of Tyche,[23] coinage from Capua representing a female figure with a mural crown, possibly Fortuna/Tyche, which Rutter dates 216–211 BC,[24] and, finally a representation

17 Bispham (2007, 447–56).
18 *HN Italy* 2310.
19 Waser (1905).
20 *HN Italy* 1523.
21 *HN Italy* 1517, 1523.
22 Giannelli (1924, 68–71).
23 *HN Italy* 819.
24 *HN Italy* 485, 490.

of Ὑγιεία on coinage from Rhegium, 250–215 BC.[25] As in the case of Victoria, Capua seems to be the only town in which we have other evidence for a Virtue attested on coinage. The famous Locrian coins representing Πίστις crowning Rome, datable around 275 BC,[26] might refer to Roman Fides. They also suggest a highly allegorical and political use of Virtues and Qualities on coinage. In conclusion, I believe it is more reasonable not to assume the presence of cults on the sole base of numismatic evidence, unless their existence can be corroborated by other means.

## 3 Case Studies

This section will focus on several cases of Italian communities worshipping Virtues in Republican Italy. I shall focus on four cases covering different periods: the peripheral finds from the early third century BC, Capua (from the Hannibalic War onwards), Pietrabbondante (second century BC), and Brundisium (first century BC). The main focus of the discussion will be the possible relationship with Roman political influence and Latin identity.

### 3.1 *Finds from Marginal Areas, Early Third Century BC*

In the early third century BC we have several finds from areas that at the time were absolutely marginal to Roman power. They are four *pocola* and one inscribed lot (*sors*). *Pocola* are pots of various shapes bearing the painted inscription 'name of a god in genitive + *pocolo*(*m*)', usually dated to the early third century BC. What makes the interpretation of these kinds of items particularly difficult is that they have been found in very diverse contexts, both related to sanctuaries and necropoleis. The finds are mostly from Latium and Etruria. The most popular theory is that this kind of object was ordered by sanctuaries and manufactured as a sort of souvenir, which the visitors of the temples could buy.[27] It has also been speculated that *pocola* might have been used in ritual feasts, in which they would symbolise the drink offered to the

25 *HN Italy* 2560–1.
26 *HN Italy* 2347–51.
27 Champeaux (1982, 189). For a complete catalogue see Cifarelli, Ambrosini & Nonnis (2002–3, 314–9); also Morel (1973).

gods.[28] It has often been assumed that *pocola* were also related to Roman colonization.[29]

Somewhere near Otranto a *pocolom* of *Fortuna* was found.[30] The meaning we should give to this find is uncertain. As most *pocola* come from Latium and Etruria, our *Fortunai pocolo*(*m*) is quite exceptional in this regard, although we do not have a context for the find.[31] If the theory of production related to sanctuaries is correct, the owner of the *pocolom*, whoever he was, may have come back from a pilgrimage to one of the major shrines of *Fortuna* in Latium (Praeneste? Rome?). It must be added that we may have evidence for a contemporary cult of Agathe Tyche from Lucania: a bronze tablet found in the excavations of the sanctuary of Demeter in Policoro bears a dedicatory inscription to Demeter, Kore and mentions Agathe Tyche.[32] Although the words [τύ]χαι τᾶι ἀγαθᾶι may not be a formula indicating the presence of a cult, the inscription might also be a dedication to a group of three divinities. In this case, it would be attractive to think of an early interpretation of Fortuna and Tyche. The association between Tyche and Demeter in Policoro might also provide an explanation for the presence of the *pocolom* in the Messapic area near Otranto: the worship of Demeter was very popular in the area.[33]

In Horta a *pocolom* of Salus was found in the Etruscan necropolis (*Salutes pocolom*).[34] An *Aecetiai pocolom* was found in a similar funerary context in another Etruscan town, Vulci.[35] Aecetia is most likely to be the Old Latin form for Aequitas.[36] This *pocolom* is extremely important in the present context because a cult of Aequitas is not attested at Rome. If the theory of the *pocola* related to sanctuaries is right, we might assume that there was a sanctuary of Aequitas somewhere else in Latium. Vulci was a strong and independent Etruscan town up to the foundation of Cosa in 273 BC. Like the other *pocola* discussed here, the Aequitas *pocolom* is dated to the first third of the third

28 Cifarelli, Ambrosini & Nonnis (2002–3, 280–96) offer a discussion and summary of rencent theories.

29 Ibidem, 296; Stek (2010, 138).

30 *CIL* 1² 443 = *ILLRP* 113: *Fortunai pocolo*(*m*).

31 The *pocolom* belonged to the antiquarian collection of the Castellani family. The only information we have on its provenance is provided by W. Helbig in his commentary on the inscription (*CIL* 9 258).

32 *SEG* 30 1164 = Ghinatti (1980, 139 n. 5), Sartori (1980, 408–9), Osanna Prandi & Siciliano (2008, 131–2).

33 De Simone (1982).

34 *CIL* 1² 450 = *ILLRP* 254.

35 *CIL* 1² 439 = *ILLRP* 32.

36 Radke (1965, 56).

century BC, which means probably when Vulci was still an independent town with considerable power.

The fourth and final *pocolom* with a dedication to a Virtue is a *pocolom* of Concordia, probably from Teate Marrucinorum, of unknown context.[37] The Marrucini fought against the Romans in the Samnite Wars, and were allied to Rome from 304 BC.[38] We should therefore imagine an independent community which had had political connections with Rome for only a few years or decades at the time of the production of the *pocolom*.

The last of the finds related to Virtues which come from marginal areas is a lot (*sors*) datable to around 300 BC, perhaps from the Marche, bearing an inscription with a prophetic text mentioning Fortuna, which Guarducci believed came from a temple of the goddess.[39] Prosdocimi argued that the text shows a negative aspect of the power of Fortuna, a whimsical force able to ruin those faithful to her and, consequently, that the inscription does not come from a sanctuary of Fortuna.[40] Letta disputed this conclusion, arguing that the text compels the reader to obey the orders of Fortuna.[41] In any case, the lot is a small, portable object, and may not have originated in the area where it was found. One might also think of a seer working individually without being attached to any temple.

The general impression one gets from these early third century BC finds is that they are not obviously related to any process connected with Roman political power, but that they may have some connection with the diffusion of Latin. The key factor here might have been individual mobility, or a certain permeability to cultural phenomena from Latium. It could be that private individuals moved around Italy carrying with them objects related to divine Virtues. It is impossible to guess the identity of these individuals: they might have been Latins living in non-Latin towns, or Etruscans, Messapii, Marrucini, or Piceni who had visited a sanctuary in Latium and brought the objects back home. The latter hypothesis would imply that several individuals might have been attracted by Latin language and culture, and had probably developed forms of bilingualism. Such speculations imply that individuals were constructing close associations between themselves and conceptual divinities.

37 *CIL* 1² 2883.

38 Liv. 9.45.18; Diod. 20.101.5. See Oakley (2005, 272).

39 *ILLRP* 1070 = *CIL* 1² 2841. On the location of the find see Guarducci (1972, 183–9). The text is *si . cedues . perdere . nolo . ne . ceduas . fortuna . seruios . perit*. See, with bibliography, Letta (2004).

40 Prosdocimi (2002, 519).

41 Letta (2004, 44).

### 3.2 *Capua*

Livy refers to an *aedes Fortunae* at Capua, in a report of prodigies occurring during the year 209 BC and, shortly thereafter, mentions a temple of Fortuna and a temple of Mars in Capua struck by lightning in 208 BC.[42] At the time of the prodigies Capua had recently been transformed into a prefecture, when the Romans recaptured the town after its defection during the Hannibalic War. We have no indication of a date for the foundation of the temple, although it is reasonable to think that at the time of the prodigy there must have been a lot of hard feelings between the Capuans and the Romans. Before the defection to Hannibal, Oscan Capua had become a *civitas sine suffragio* from before 312 BC. However, there are clear indications that Capua enjoyed a large degree of independence from Rome, and that it was a power of great regional importance in Campania.[43] It is reasonable, therefore, to think that the foundation of a temple of Fortuna, if it did not happen between 211 and 209, probably had nothing to do with Roman influence.

In the late second century BC the existence of a cult of Fortuna in the town is confirmed by an inscription mentioning *magistri Spei Fidei Fortunae*, and dated in the consulship of M. Minucius and Sp. Postumius (110 BC).[44] Fortuna is here associated with the cults of Fides and Spes. The inscription belongs to a series of 28 inscriptions related to so-called *magistri Campani*, representatives of local associations who would look after public buildings and sanctuaries, dated between 112 and 71 BC.[45] The *magistri* were not related to the Roman state, and in fact were probably closely associated with local communities.[46] They might have been *mercatores*, since we know that similar associations of Italian *magistri* were active in Delos between 158–56 BC.[47] Their inscriptional activity seems to be also, at least partially, in continuity with the epigraphic habit of sacred inscriptions in Oscan, the so called *iuvila*, most of which can be dated after Capua was turned into a Roman prefecture.[48] The elements of discontinuity—i.e. the adoption of Latin language, the date by consular year, and a probable influence from similar associations formed at Delos—are significant, but they do not allow us to establish a direct connection between Virtues

42 Liv. 27.11.2; 27.23.2. See Champeaux (1982, 188–9); Engels (2007, 464–5, 468–9).

43 For a recent discussion of Campanian history during the Hannibalic War see Fronda (2010, 100–47); Sacchi (2012).

44 CIL $1^2$ 674 = CIL 10, 3775 = ILLRP 707.

45 ILLRP 705–723 b. Still essential Frederiksen (1959).

46 Heurgon (1939); Pobjoy (2000).

47 ILLRP 705 explicitly mentions a *conlegium mercatorum*. The inscriptions from Delos are ILLRP 747–762.

48 *Sabellische Texte*, Cp 8–35. The essential study is still Franchi De Bellis (1981). See now *Imagines Italicae, Capua* 3–29. Also see Sacchi (2012, 285–8).

and Roman power. On the contrary, as some scholars have argued, *magistri* in Capua were particularly important because they filled a power vacuum after Capua was deprived of its political independence by Rome in the Second Punic War.[49]

In *De divinatione*, Cicero refers to a sweating statue of Victoria at Capua, and of Apollo at Cumae. MacBain showed that most of the prodigies in Cicero's list show parallels with the lists of prodigies provided by Obsequens for 117 and 91 BC.[50] Cicero's wording probably implies that the prodigies of the statues of Apollo and Victoria occurred in the same year. In this case, the year must be 91 BC, in which Obsequens dates the prodigy at Cumae. It is also possible that Cicero might have wanted to present the prodigies together only because of their type, in which case there is no way to date the prodigy at Capua with any certainty. The statue of Victoria at Capua does not necessarily need to be a cult object. We know of a monumental Augustan inscription from Capua with a dedication to Victoria.[51] It is perhaps possible that the Augustan cult developed from a previous local cult of Victoria, and that the prodigy mentioned by Cicero must then be connected to a cultic statue of Victoria.

In Capua Virtues seem to have been widely worshipped, with evidence for three or four different divinities, and it is the only town outside Latium having such a large number of known Virtues in Republican Italy. If we consider Victoria, Capua would surpass even Praeneste, which played a very important role in the early phases of the development of Virtues. Capua is also the only town which minted coins representing Virtues whose cult is confirmed by further evidence.[52] This implies that Capuans were particularly happy to employ their conceptual divinities to represent themselves as a community. It is possible that at least the earliest development of the cult of Fortuna at Capua occurred when Capua was a *civitas sine suffragio* with a large degree of independence from the Roman state. The *magistri* of Spes, Fides, and Fortuna were closely related to local communities, and it is difficult to associate them with Roman influence. The development of the cults of Virtues in Capua does not, therefore, appear to be strictly related to Roman power. It is perhaps more appropriate to think about the attractiveness of the Latin language, whose use is accompanied by the cult of Virtues. Moreover, the presence of a cultic association worshipping Spes, Fides, and Fortuna also implies that local communities were appropriating conceptual divinities.[53]

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49 Heurgon (1939); Frederiksen (1959, 88).

50 Cic. *Div.* 1.98; Obseq. 36;54. See MacBain (1982, 22). See also Engels (2007, 583–5).

51 CIL 10, 3816.

52 Victoria: HN *Italy* 491, 493, 505; probably Fortuna: HN *Italy* 485, 490.

53 For appropriation in ancient religion see Rüpke (2012).

### 3.3 *Pietrabbondante*

Pietrabbondante is an extremely important place to reflect on Virtues in Republican Italy. We know of a Oscan inscription on a bronze tablet with a dedication to Victoria from two individuals, Marcus Staius and Lucius Decitius, found near Temple B in Pietrabbondante.[54] This temple, built in the late second century BC, has been famously interpreted as a federal sanctuary of the Samnites during the Social War.[55] The dedication to Victoria was until recently the only votive inscription known from the site of the sanctuary, and La Regina, its first editor, even suggested at the time of the publication that the whole temple was dedicated to Victoria and that the dedication was related to the Social War.[56] Clark supposed that Victoria here was considered a Roman goddess, somehow used against Rome.[57] The editor of *Imagines Italicae* is more careful about this point, as he dates the inscription to the second century BC, thus separating it from the time of the Social War. I am also inclined to be very cautious on this point: we are speaking of a small bronze tablet (13.5 × 4.2 cm)[58] offered by individuals who were probably not magistrates. This suggests that an overly political, anti-Roman interpretation of the inscription is to be avoided. **Víkturraí** is, technically, a loan word from Latin, which suggests a context of bilingualism, well attested at Pietrabbondante.[59] It is reasonable to think that Victoria in Pietrabbondante was in no way connected with Roman power, and that she was not considered a Roman goddess in any way. It is also apparent that individuals in Pietrabbondante appropriated Victoria, and probably gave their own interpretation of the concept, which in Latin towns tended to be associated with triumphs.[60]

Finds in recent excavations have made the picture at Pietrabbondante even more relevant to our case. Two new inscribed objects have been found, and attest the presence of a second century BC cult of Honos and, perhaps, Ops. They come from a recently discovered structure, which La Regina proposed to identify with a *domus publica*. La Regina ascribes one of them to Ops Consiva, but this can be done only with difficulty, as the text mentions a **kúnsíf deívúz**, identified with Ops Consiva because of a Tiberian inscription found in the same

54 *Sabellische Texte*, Sa 24 = *Imagines Italicae, Terventum* 20: **maras. staíis. banttieí[s -?-] | lúvkis. dekitis. marah[ieís -?-] | víkturraí. dunúm. ded[ens -?-].**

55 Lejeune (1972); Stek (2010, 35–52).

56 La Regina (1966, 275). On coinage see Burnett (1998); *HN Italy*, 51–4.

57 Clark (2007, 198). See also Stek (2010, 49–50).

58 La Regina (1966, 262).

59 Adams (2004, 124–5); Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 90–2).

60 See Miano (forthcoming).

building, bearing the personal name Opalis.[61] The new inscription allowed La Regina to integrate a previously published inscription from Temple B, which is also a dedication to **kúnsíf deívúz.**[62] The other new inscription is on two fragments of pedestal, and it reads **[pa]k(is) . sadirii[s . - - . . . . ? . . . ] hanúseís . pukam . prúffed**, which La Regina interprets as a dedication of a statue of Honos by Pacius Satrius.[63] The genitive singular **hanúseís** is not a loan word from Latin, but it appears to be an Oscan form.[64] This is significant, because it proves a sort of fusion between Oscan and Latin practices, and probably also the related concepts. These new pieces of evidence are important because they significantly enrich our picture of Virtues in Republican Italy. They prove that Victoria was not an isolated case, but that, at least at Pietrabbondante, it was common practice to worship conceptual divinities in Oscan, and with Oscan names. They also confirm that this already happened in the second century BC. Although the most ancient evidence for these cults comes from Latium, at Pietrabbondante we can see a level of appropriation of Virtues which makes them undistinguishable from any other Oscan god.

### 3.4 *Brundisium*

Cicero notes twice that 5 August, the day of his return to Italy through Brundisium in 57 BC, coincided with the birthday of his daughter Tullia, and with the anniversary of the colony of Brundisium and with the festival of Salus.[65] In the passage from the letter to Atticus, Cicero notes that the people of Brundisium were aware that the anniversary of the colony was on the day of the festival of Salus and openly celebrated this 'remarkable thing' (*res animadversa*), alongside his return to Italy. Cicero clearly planned his journey carefully to arrive at Brundisium on that specific day. The letter to Atticus makes it plausible that Salus was somehow involved in the celebration of the anniversary of the colony.

The Latin colony of Brundisium was founded in 247/6 BC or in 244 BC.[66] It was previously a strongly Hellenised Messapic town, and it has always been

61 La Regina (2012); cf. *Imagines Italicae, Terventum* 22.

62 La Regina (2012, 317). The inscription is *Sabellische Texte*, Sa 28 = *Imagines Italicae, Terventum*, 1177.

63 La Regina (2012, 322–3).

64 Ibidem, 323.

65 Cic. *Sest.* 131; *Sest.* 131; *Att.* 4.1.4: *Brundisium veni Non. Sext. ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis; quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est.* See Clark (2007, 176–7).

66 Liv. *Per.* 19 (247/6 BC); Vell. 1.14.8 (244 BC).

a very important port. Unfortunately, the sources on the foundation are very brief and do not tell us about the exact circumstances of the deduction of the colony. It is possible, however, that the coincidence of the date of the deduction of the colony and the anniversary of the temple of Salus was a deliberate choice, taken during the war against Carthage. Therefore, in this case we would have a strong connection between Salus and a Latin colony, and also a strong interplay between Latin and Roman identities which is quite unique, and rather suspect. Recent work by Ed Bispham and Amanda Coles has demonstrated that in the religion of Roman colonies the local population always played a fundamental part.[67] It is therefore tempting to argue that the coincidence of the dates between the foundation of the colony and that of the temple of Salus was established only when Brundisium became a *municipium* after the Social War.[68] If this is the case we might have a relatively recent enrichment of the concept of Salus appropriated by the colonists or the municipal magistrates, and Cicero attempting an individual appropriation.

## Conclusion

To sum up, although most of the ancient evidence comes from a core in *Latium vetus*, Virtues seem to have spread throughout Italy in the third and second centuries BC. This prominence of Latium could appear a coincidence related to the limits of the evidence, if the overwhelming majority of the evidence on Virtues were not in Latin language. The early third century BC is characterised by a grey area of finds from peripheral places, such as *pocola* or the lot mentioning Fortuna. This probably means that around 300 BC or slightly later Virtues were already spread in places without a strong connection with Rome. This also means that local individuals were worshipping Virtues independently of Rome.

The diffusion of the divinities was obviously related to the diffusion of the Latin language, with most cases occurring in Latium and Campania. For obvious reasons this happened mainly in Roman or Latin colonies or in towns in Latium. Except for the Oscan dedications at Pietrabbondante, and a Greek dedication to Tyche from Herakleia, no dedication to a divine Virtue in a language other than Latin is attested. Recent discoveries of dedications to Virtues in Oscan suggest that the picture may radically change, and that worshipping conceptual divinities was common in languages other than Latin. In any case,

67 Coles (2009); Bispham (2006).

68 Bispham (2007, 153–4, 468 n. 80) for sources on the municipalisation of Brundisium.

I think it would be a mistake to give an overly political interpretation of this phenomenon.

There does not seem to be any special relationship between the cults of Virtues and colonial status. Virtues are attested in many places which were not colonies, sometimes even places that had possible relations of conflict with Rome at the time of the dedications. It is only after the Second Punic War that one could find a stronger connection between places under Roman control and Virtues, but, as I observed earlier, this might be a circular argument, given that Rome became the unquestioned hegemonic power in Italy after the defeat of Hannibal. In the case studies we have considered there seems to be no evidence of any direct, institutional Roman influence on local religion, except for the case of Brundisium, and this may have been a later reinterpretation.

I suggest that there is a parallelism between the diffusion of Virtues and the diffusion of the Latin language. Adams has argued that at least from 180 BC Latin was extremely appealing to local elites throughout Italy.[69] From passages of Plautus, Lucilius and Cicero, Adams argues that people of non-Roman origin who tried to integrate themselves in Rome were well aware that there was a number of varieties of the Latin language, and assumed that Roman Latin was superior. Although speaking Latin was always considered an important part of being a Roman citizen, it is only from the Social War onwards that the attitude to local varieties of the Latin language became increasingly neutral, and that Latin came to be unequivocally associated with Rome. If Adams' conclusions are correct, this implies that one should avoid automatically associating Roman influence with the diffusion of the Latin language. The same goes for Italian Virtues, insofar as they may have been originally a Latin phenomenon, without necessarily being related to Rome. If one considers the model of cultural change by bilingualism, it is possible that Latin or non-Latin individuals already adopted Virtues from the early third century BC, alongside forms of bilingualism.

The number of attested Virtues is quite limited. This probably implies that the role of individuals was not to establish new cults but rather to propagate existing ones. In some cases Virtues were appropriated by local groups who were adopting the Latin language, and were also used as symbols on the coinage of their town (Capua). Worshippers at Pietrabbondante were even translating Virtues, and it is reasonable to suppose that they were adapting divinities and blending together Oscan and Latin divinities and concepts (see **Hanúseís**/*Honoris*), in a process of interchange that the available evidence does not allow to reconstruct in details. In the case of Brundisium there is a strong connection

69 Adams (2003).

between Roman and local identities, which shows well the peculiar developments of the situation after municipalisation.

This paper allows us to conclude that Virtues were certainly employed by towns, communities, and individuals in a large variety of ways, and in extremely diversified contexts. The way in which local communities offered gifts or created temples dedicated to Virtues, alongside the association between the diffusion of the cults and that of the Latin language, suggest that they played an essential role for the construction of a cultural *koine* in ancient Italy. Different individuals or communities tried to appropriate Virtues independently of Rome and of one another, and in doing so were also relating to the relevant concepts. Individuals and communities adopted conceptual divinities and contributed to new meanings and new interpretations of these concepts. In the long term this favoured the development of a common conceptual landscape.

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## Appendix. The Evidence of the Cults of Virtues in Italian Towns

This section will present the evidence for the cults of Virtues in Italian towns, in alphabetic order. It is comprehensive for most of places except Praeneste, where the abundance of epigraphic and literary evidence does not allow us to present it here in a satisfactory way, and only a few exemplary items will be given. Ancient names of places are given when possible, except for finds whose location is imprecise or an ancient name of place is unknown. The section 'century' refers to the date of the earliest evidence. As most of the evidence is epigraphic, it is perhaps useful to remind that dating epigraphic evidence on paleographic grounds is not a precise science, and the entries below refer to the most ancient possible date proposed by the editors of the inscription (so, an inscription dated by the editor as late second/early first century is recorded as a second century inscription).

| Town/Place | Divinity | Century (BC) | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agosta | Fortuna | 1 | AE 1979, 293. |
| Alba Fucens | Mens | 1 | CIL 1², 1817 = ILLRP 227; CIL 1², 1818 = ILLRP 228. |
| Ameria | Ops | 1 | AE 2000, 500. |
| Antium | Fortuna | 1 | Hor. *Carm.* 1.35; Suet. *Cal.* 57; Tac. *Ann.* 15.32; Mart. 5.1.3; Macr. *Sat.* 1.23.13. CIL 10, 6555, 6638; RIC 1, p. 64. |
| Apulia (near Otranto) | Fortuna | 3 | CIL 1², 443 = ILLRP 113. |
| Aricia, Mons Algidus | Fortuna | 3 | Liv. 21.62.8. |
| Beneventum | Fortuna | 3 | CIL 1², 397. |
| Brundisium | Salus | 1 | Cic. *Sest.* 131; *Att.* 4.1.4. |
| Cales | Fortuna | 1 | Strab. 5.4.11. |
| Capua | Fortuna, Spes, Fides | 2 | CIL 1², 674 = ILLRP 707. |
| Capua | Victoria | 1 | Cic. *Div.* 1.98 |
| Capua | Fortuna | 3 | Liv. 27.11.2. |
| Casinum | Concordia | 1 | ILLRP 562a. |
| Casinum | Fortuna | 2 | AE 2007, 333–334. |
| Cora | Concordia | 1 | CIL 1², 1508 = ILLRP 71. |
| Cora | Mens | 2 | CIL 1², 1510 = ILLRP 225. |
| Cora | Fortuna | 2 | CIL 1², 1509 = ILLRP 111. |

(cont.)

| Town/Place | Divinity | Century (BC) | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fanum | Fortuna | 1 | Strab. 5, 227; Plin., *NH* 3, 113; Tac., *Hist.* 3, 50; Claud. 28, 500–5. |
| Fregellae | Salus | 2 | AE 1986, 120. |
| Gabii | Fortuna | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 3092b–c. |
| Gabii | Honos | 3 | Fabbri, M., Musco, S., Osanna, M. (2012). "Nuove indagini al santuario orientale di Gabii," in: Marroni, E. (ed.), *Sacra Nominis Latini. I santuari del Lazio arcaico e repubblicano* (Rome), 236–239. |
| Herakleia | Agathe Tyche (?) | 4 | SEG 30 1164. |
| Horta | Salus | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 450 = ILLRP 254. |
| Lake Cutilia | Victoria | 1 | Dion. Hal. 1.15. |
| Lanuvium (or Aricia) | Spes | 2 | CIL $1^2$, 46 = ILLRP 258. |
| Lavinium | Fides | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 3037. |
| Lavinium | Fortuna | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 3038, AE 1975, 143. |
| Marche | Fortuna | 3 | ILLRP 1070 = CIL $1^2$, 2841. |
| Minturnae | Spes | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 2689 = ILLRP 730; CIL $1^2$, 2698 = ILLRP 734; CIL $1^2$, 2700 = ILLRP 740. |
| Neapolis (or Paestum) | Mens | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 1616 = ILLRP 226. |
| Ostia | Fortuna, Spes | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 3031a. |
| Paestum | Mens | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 3149. |
| Patavium | Fortuna | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 2821. |
| Pietrabbondante | Victoria | 2 | *Imagines Italicae, Terventum* 20 = *Sabellische Texte*, Sa 24. |
| Pietrabbondante | Honos | 2 | *SE* 75 2009 (2012), 322–323. |

| Town/Place | Divinity | Century (BC) | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pietrabbondante | Ops (?) | 2 | *SE* 75 2009 (2012), 315–322; *Sabellische Texte*, Sa 28. |
| Pinna Vestina | Ops | 1 | AE 1997, 460; CIL $1^2$ 3484. |
| Pisaurum | Fides | 2 | CIL $1^2$, 369 = ILLRP 14. |
| Pisaurum | Salus | 2 | CIL $1^2$, 373 = ILLRP 18. |
| Pompeii | Salus | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 1626 = ILLRP 253. |
| Praeneste | Fortuna | 4 | CIL $1^2$, 60, 2498;ILLRP 106 a–d, 107 a–e; CIL $1^2$ 3057–3072; Cic, *Div.* 2.85–7 and others. |
| Praeneste | Victoria | 4 | CIL $1^2$, 2498, and others. |
| Praeneste | Salus | 4 | CIL $1^2$, 62 = ILLRP 132; Jovilet 85–94. |
| Puteoli | Honos | 2 | CIL $1^2$, 698 = ILLRP 518. |
| Scolacium | Fortuna | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 3165. |
| Signia | Fortuna | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 3101. |
| Spoletium | Fortuna | 2 | AE 2001, 925. |
| Teate Marrucinorum | Concordia | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 2883. |
| Tibur | Felicitas | 1 | CIL $1^2$, 1481 = ILLRP 89. |
| Tifernum Mataurense | Fortuna | 1 | AE 2004, 539. |
| Tusculum | Fortuna | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 48. |
| Veii | Victoria | 3 | ILLRP 30 = CIL $1^2$, 2631. |
| Vicus Anninius | Valetudo | 2 | CIL $1^2$, 390 = ILLRP 266. |
| Vicus Supinum | Victoria | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 388 = ILLRP 286; CIL $1^2$, 387 = ILLRP 285. |
| Vulci | Aequitas | 3 | CIL $1^2$, 439 = ILLRP 32. |

CHAPTER 15

# Literary Topoi and the Integration of Central Italy

*Elisabeth Buchet*

## Introduction

As a starting point, I would like to use a sentence found in the work of Edward Bispham. The author is talking about the Augustan view of Italian cities that proudly displayed their identities in the second and first centuries BC, and he writes: 'Monarchy viewed this continued pretence of independence within the Roman state as inimical to its control, and while (...) poets glorified the past of the Italian *populi*, their public aspects were surreptitiously degraded.'[1] This paradox is what I aim to explore in this paper: I will try to show that literary topoi were instrumental in the integration of Central Italy in the Augustan age. I will especially focus on Latium in those few pages, mainly because literary texts are one of the very few means available to us to study the integration of Latium, which until quite recently was rather left alone by students of integration, identity and Romanization. I should point out that it does not mean I will be taking Latium as a whole. There are as many approaches to integration as there are cities in Latium, and I would not want to elaborate a model that would not take into account that diversity; moreover, we will use Tibur as a case study, and the city has a rather unique position in Latium. With those elements in mind, we will start with an overview of the situation at the end of the Republic and in the Augustan age. We will then take a closer look at Augustan topoi about Latium and, more generally, Central Italy, through the examination of Virgil's 'catalogue of Italians'. Finally, using Tibur's example, I will try to show that those topoi were instrumental in eroding the identity of Latin cities, and therefore in integrating them once and for all into the Roman sphere.

## Conquest and Political Integration

Political integration in Latium was progressive, but there was a great variety in how this process occurred. For example, Tusculum was enfranchised as early

1 Bispham (2007, 446).

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as 381, and most probably *optimo iure*.[2] However, this enfranchisement did not prevent the Tusculans from joining forces against Rome with other Latin cities later in the fourth century. Other cities, such as Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum or Pedum, were also enfranchised in the fourth century, but this took place after the Latins were defeated in 338. Their inhabitants also became citizens *optimo iure*. Lavinium became a *municipium* as well, although matters seem to be a bit muddled here, mainly because of the religious aspects involved. However, we can safely assume that the Lavinates were Roman citizens by 338.[3] A different case is that of Tibur, Praeneste, and probably also that of the old colony of Cora. After 338 they were the only Latin cities to escape Roman citizenship, remaining allied cities instead. What is more, while according to Livy the Latin colonies became at least temporarily isolated, Tibur and Praeneste apparently retained such rights as *conubium* and *commercium*, even though part of their territory was confiscated by Rome.[4] This discrepancy in the treatment of the Latin cities after 338 can be explained partly by the differences between the cities themselves. Tibur and Praeneste, for example, were most probably too big and too powerful to be enfranchised. Moreover, their geographical situation, in the mountains and with a large territory, gave them a military edge which probably made it quite difficult for Rome to conquer them without losing a lot of time, money, and men. The allied status was therefore most probably a compromise reached between Rome and Tibur, and Rome and Praeneste.[5] This explains why the two cities remained autonomous until after the Social War: Livy tells us the story of how the Praenestines were offered citizenship for their bravery during the siege of Casilinum in the Second Punic War, but proudly rejected it.[6]

The variety in the pace of political integration in Latium makes it impossible to see the region as a united whole. However, after 90 BC, Latium in its entirety was enfranchised. Given the situation, one would expect that by that time, most Latin cities were almost impossible to distinguish culturally from Rome, and that the enfranchisement of Tibur and Praeneste would be the final step in their integration into Rome. However, this was not always the case. Indeed, it is dubious whether defeat by the Romans and political integration meant complete cultural integration, even in a region as close to Rome as Latium: we can again mention how the Praenestines rejected the Roman offer of enfranchisement, even though they had been fighting bravely alongside those same

2 Humbert (1978, 154–5).

3 Humbert (1978, 179–80).

4 Liv. 8.14.9. See Humbert (1978, 190–1).

5 I am grateful to A. Ziolkowski for offering this explanation.

6 Liv. 23.20.

Romans. At this point, we are confronted with the question of what one might call Latin identities. There is, of course, the problem of evidence: how do you evaluate the degree of resistance to integration of cities which are a day's walk from Rome? We might find some answers in the changes some of those cities underwent in the second and first centuries BC. Roman expansion made trade easier for Italians, whether they were Roman citizens or not. The elites of Italian cities and *municipia* enriched themselves substantially.[7] Cébeillac-Gervasoni notes, for example, that 46% of known magistrates in Tibur can be linked with *negotiatores* in Delos or in the East.[8] Admittedly, some names are rather common and we do not have the names of many magistrates in Tibur, but the point remains. The so-called Agora of the Italians in Delos is a good example of the phenomenon of Italian enrichment. How the local elites used their newfound wealth is of special interest to us: cities changed in this period, with many public works being erected. Latin cities had access to Hellenistic models, but did not slavishly copy them, nor did they endeavour to mimic Rome, although they might use Roman building techniques. We end up with something new entirely.[9]

Most famously, this is the time when monumental sanctuaries appear all across Italy. In Latium there is of course the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, that of Hercules Victor at Tibur, and that of Iuno Sospita Mater Regina at Lanuvium. In all those cases a poliadic deity is honoured. Those sanctuaries are architectural feats, and sometimes their architectural innovations are taken up even in Rome: the Tabularium reminds us of the daring substructures of the sanctuary of Hercules Victor in Tibur, Pompey's theatre of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste. There are different ways to understand this phenomenon: firstly, that those cities were trying to prove themselves worthy of Rome, which might be the case for some of them. Then, there is the fact that some of those renovations were undertaken by Romans, who wished to emphasise their *origo* or improve their prestige in Rome, where these cults were also important. But in some cases, and I believe that is what we have in Tibur and Praeneste, these constructions seem to have been a way to express local pride: in Tibur, it is very possible that one of the temple reconstructed on the acropolis of the city was dedicated to Tiburnus, Tibur's founder, an Argive hero, especially when the Tiburtines might also have chosen to honour the Arcadian Catillus, Evander's friend, Tibur's founder in another version of the legend.[10]

7 Roselaar (2012).

8 Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1998, 182–3, 189).

9 Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 16).

10 Cato *Orig.* 2.26 Chassignet = 56 P.

The other temple was probably dedicated to Albunea, a prophetic nymph of Tibur; the importance of an oracular cult to a city is clear. What is interesting is that these processes, in Tibur at least, continue after the enfranchisement of the city as if nothing had changed: the magistrates' names are not notably different, the transformation of the city goes on, and it seems quite probable that after the *sortes* of Albunea were transferred to Rome by Sulla, the Tiburtines gave Hercules *sortes*, so they would still have an oracle in the city.[11] The enfranchisement most definitely was not the turning point in Tibur's integration.

## The Turning of the Tide: Augustan Writers and Latium

It is quite another matter with the Augustan period. Very soon afterwards, as the epigraphic material shows, Hercules Victor's cult turns into an annex of the imperial cult and the *Herculanei Augustales* take the centre stage in the sanctuary.[12] This seems to be more or less the case in the rest of Latium as well. In a recent article, Cooley has shown how the cults of Latin cities were gradually incorporated into Roman religion, until they became almost undistinguishable.[13] She is especially interested by the mention of the submission of Latium in the prayer for the centennial games: according to her, the integration of Latium must be shown as complete and perfected. If Rome indeed could integrate Latium, then it had a chance with the rest of the world. She also argues that local calendars which were clearly different earlier were influenced by Roman calendars in the Augustan period. Works such as Ovid's *Fasti* mixed them, so to speak, by taking Latin cult practices, deities, and stories, and turning them into Roman ones, or more precisely into something which equivocates in a way both Rome and Latium, underlining the degree of integration of the Latin cities.

So, to sum up: it seems that in some cases, the integration of Latium definitely took place in the Augustan period rather than at the time of enfranchisement, or in the years afterwards. The fact that Latium seems to have occupied an important part in Augustan thought, as the centennial prayer bears witness, points in that direction.

This brings us to the subject of this paper, namely the treatment of Latium in Augustan literature. A striking feature of the Augustan age is the multiplication of literary discourse about Italy. To study this, we will take one example

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11 Buchet (2012).

12 The *Herculanei Augustales* appeared in Tibur in all likelihood around the reign of Tiberius. See Jaczynowska (1981, 642–3).

13 Cooley (2006, 230).

of the way in which Italian cities, and especially Latin cities, are depicted in Augustan literature, taking as an example Vergil's 'catalogue of Italians'. This passage can be found in the *Aeneid*, book 7, from line 641 to the end of the book. These lines describe the arrival of the Italian peoples coming to the aid of Turnus against Aeneas and his Trojans. They include both Latin and non-Latin cities, and I believe that the reasoning applies to both categories. For our purpose, the text can be analysed on three levels:

On a first level, we have what one could call an ethnographic component. In some cases the peoples involved are described, including their strange armament and clothes. The Praenestines, for example, are depicted wearing wolf skin.

On a second level, there is a mythological component. Heroes are introduced here as well as peoples. Vergil recalls a number of foundation legends: for Latium we find Catillus and Coras, two of the founders of Tibur, who are described as Argives; their brother Tiburtus is also mentioned. Just after them comes Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste, who, as Vergil tells us, was 'born amongst the rustic beasts'. These lines therefore provide us with a good amount of information on local cults and foundation legends.

Finally, on a third level, there is the landscape of Central Italy. Strikingly, it is often in stark contrast with the savagery of its inhabitants. It seems indeed that in these last lines of book 7, we have a description of Italy as it should be, an ideal poetic Italy. The landscapes described are almost entirely evocative of a *locus amoenus*. If we explore this notion briefly, it is clear that the notions of *utilitas*, *amoenitas*, and *species* were crucial for the concept of the *locus amoenus* in Roman literature.[14] Cicero describes a pleasant place thus: 'To this add the icy permanence of sources, the diaphanous fluidity of rivers, the clothing so green of their banks, the depth of caves, asperities of rocks, the heights of mountains towering over us, the immensity of the plains.'[15] These topical elements can be found throughout Vergil's lines which are of particular interest to us here.

Let us survey some of those elements. About Praeneste and the surrounding area, for example we have, l. 682–683: *Quique altum Praeneste uiri quique arua Gabinae Iunonis gelidumque Anienem*.[16] The Anio is the river that flows from the mountains through Tibur to the Tiber. The adjective *gelidus* is a topos; we should also note that Praeneste is here called *alta*, which is also necessary for the beauty of a landscape. Later on, l. 715–717, we read the following: *qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit Nursia, et Ortinae classes*

14 On this matter, see Morzadec (2009, 229).

15 Cic. Nat. D. 2.98–9: *Adde huc fontium gelidas perennitates, liquores perlucidos amnium, rivarum vestitus viridissimos, speluncarum concavas altitudines, saxorum asperitates, inpendentium montium altitudines, immensitatesque camporum* (Loeb translation).

16 Unless indicated otherwise, the Latin texts come from the CUF-Les Belles Lettres edition.

*populique Latini, quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen*. Despite the mention of the Allia, we have one element pointing to a *locus amoenus*: cold waters. The *locus amoenus* can also be found in the lines about Nemi: *eductum Egeriae lucis umentia circum litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae*: here we find woods and water. Finally, in l. 797–802, we read the following: *qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos sacrumque Numici litus arant Rutulosque exercent vomere collis Circaeumque iugum, quis Iuppiter Anxurus arvis praesidet et viridi gaudens Feronia luco, qua Saturae iacet atra palus gelidusque per imas quaerit iter vallis atque in mare conditur Ufens*. There is an emphasis on green vegetation, as well as on the usefulness of the landscape, with an allusion to agriculture.

I am only quoting here the lines which describe Latium, but the *locus amoenus* can be found throughout the descriptions of Central Italy in this passage. The contrast with the context and the description of the heroes and peoples is striking. War is about to begin. The peoples and heroes of Italy whose description we have are both foreign and fearsome, monstrous even: Catillus and Coras are compared to centaurs, Mezentius is a *contemptor deorum*, Camilla and her warriors are reminiscent of Amazons; the wolf skins in which the Praenestines are clad give them a feral look. And yet, those terrifying descriptions give way to a loving evocation of the Italian landscape, more reminiscent of the *Eclogues* than the *Iliad*. These lines show the transformation of the Latin, and, more widely, Italian landscape, into a poetic entity. To my mind, one line in particular exemplifies this: when Vergil narrates the arrival of Catillus and Coras, the two young founders of Tibur, there is no real description of Tibur's landscape.

However, the course of the centaurs they are compared to, falling from snowy heights, crashing through the forest, is quite evocative of the Anio, the river that forms impressive waterfalls in Tibur and is known for being rather temperamental. In this comparison, we find the following sentence:[17] *dat euntibus ingens silua locum et magno cedunt virgulta fragore*. A very literal translation would be: 'The immense forest gives way before those who arrive and the *virgulta* break with a great noise.' The last line really puzzled Servius in his *Commentary*: he felt that starting a line with *silva* and finishing it with *virgulta* was very anticlimactic. Modern authors, following in Servius's footsteps, have tried to explain this anomaly. Some, like Warde Fowler, believe that it might reflect the Centaurs' journey, from the mountain top to the plain.[18] Horsfall is of the opinion that it is some kind of metonymy, *virgulta* meaning in some cases undergrowth, underbrush.[19] However, there might be another explanation: *virgulta* does mean underbrush, small bushes, as one might expect to find

17 L. 676–7.

18 Warde Fowler (1916, 55–6).

19 Horsfall (2007, 442).

in a forest. But it also means young plants, that bear promise of growth and a fruitful harvest. The word is most notably used in that meaning in Cato *Agr*. 141: *Utique tu fruges, frumenta, uineta uirgultaque grandire, beneque evenire sinas*. The context is the *lustratio* of fields. The arrival of the Tiburtines takes place just at the beginning of the sequence of descriptions of Italy as a *locus amoenus*. So this transition from a *silva* inhabited by monsters, such as centaurs, to *virgulta*, promising agriculture and fertility, might be a way for the poet to introduce the change in the Italian landscape he both wishes for and enacts through his poetry. This text could therefore be considered as an example of how poetry can be a means to integration: the Latin landscape is appropriated by poetry, and thus, in some way, remains forever this ideal *locus amoenus*.

## A Case Study: Tibur

As a conclusion we will study a specific case, that of Tibur, through two examples: the treatment of Albunea, in literature and art, and the impact of the Horatian view of Tibur. Albunea is a prophetic nymph of Tibur; her temple was probably the round one on top of the acropolis.[20] We know she had *sortes*, since there is a legend that she got out of the Anio carrying the dry *sortes*, and we know those *sortes* ended up in Rome as part of the Sibylline corpus, thanks to Tibullus.[21] The *sortes* were probably transferred to Rome after the Capitolium burnt down and Sulla sent envoys everywhere to reconstruct a Sibylline corpus. There is no indication at all that Albunea was ever thought of as a Sibyl in Tibur. However, thanks to the fact that Albunea's *sortes* were incorporated into the Sibylline corpus, and thanks to Tibullus' poem and the work of Varro, the story that Albunea was a Sibyl is the version that remained. And it grew very strong: Albunea is especially well known because of a medieval prophecy, and of the fact that a legend states that Augustus, who, according to Suetonius, liked to dispense justice under the porticoes of the sanctuary of Hercules Victor, was told by Albunea of the birth of Christ, a story one can find in Jacques de Voragine and in countless paintings from the Middle Ages onwards. This is I think an example of how a local figure was changed into a well-known literary figure or topos, that of a Sibyl. This in a way blocked the further development of her legend, blocking new elements being added to the stories surrounding Albunea.

20 Coarelli (1987, 104–5).

21 Tibul. 2.5.67–8: *Quidquid Amalthea, quidquid Marpesia dixit / Herophile, Phyto Graia quod admonuit, / quod, quae Aniena sacras Tiburs per flumina sortes / portarit sicco pertuleritque sinu.*

For my second example, I would like to go back to the notion of *locus amoenus*. In poetry, one could say that Tibur is the tantamount example of a *locus amoenus*. I we take a look at the way the city and its territory are described, we get four main features:

- Heights: *Tiburis alti aura* (Mart. 7.13.3–4); *praeceps Anio* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.13); *Tibur supinum* (Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.23); *nemora alta* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.17); *Anien* (...) *infraque superque saxeus* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.20–1); *candida qua geminas ostendunt culmina turres* (Prop. 3.16.3).
- Water: *uda mobilibus pomaria riuis* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.13–14); *udum Tibur* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.6).
- Cool: *Tibur glaciale* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.1); *ripis algentibus* (Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.44); *gelidi Tiburis arces* (Mart. 1.12.1); *densa Tiburis umbra* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.20–1).
- Fertility: *ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat arvis* (Prop. 4.7.81); *uda mobilibus pomaria riuis*; *mite solum Tiburis* (Hor. Carm. 1.18.2); *Tibur fertile* (Hor. *Carm.* 4.3.10); *pomosi Tiburis arua* (Col. *Agr.* 10.137).
- Quiet: *uacuum Tibur* (Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.45).

These elements are precisely what characterises a *locus amoenus*. Many of these descriptions come from the Horatian corpus. As is well known, the poet had a villa in Tibur's territory, most probably in the Eastern part of the city. Uda has pointed out that the Sabine mentioned in the Epistles is relegated to the easternmost territory of Tibur, which might explain the description of Tibur as Sabine landscape, which allows an identification with a number of moral values.[22] Horace does not describe the luxury of Tibur's *otium* villas, but the simple life of its hinterland. Horace's Tibur is first and foremost that of an Epicurean. In the quiet of *vacuum Tibur*, he enjoys his garden which gives him just what he needs. Tibur is a *modus*, and the poet wishes to retire here, rather than in the city of Rome. In *Epist.* 1.1–16, we have a description of this house: although surrounded by mountains, it is sunny, there are fruitful orchards and a river, and trees that provide shade. This ideal garden is often contrasted to city life, for example in *Epist.* 1.10 or 1.14. But the garden is also feeding the poet's inspiration. Tibur, thus placed at the heart of Horace's work, becomes mainly a poetic subject, the place where an Epicurean life can exist, in harmony with old Italian virtues, and as a source of inspiration. This Horatian picture becomes so strong that it reverberates in later literature: when Vopiscus installs his villa in Tibur, which Statius describes in *Silvae* 1.7, he is certainly thinking about Horace. It is Horace who serves as a model for Statius when

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22 Uda (1990).

he in turn describes and perhaps judges Vopiscus' villa.[23] Much later, when Marc-Antoine Muret or Lamartine write poems about Tivoli the city is to them, above all else, Horace's city.

## Conclusion

Before concluding this brief study, it is time to go back to the question of what we call identity. If we look at Tibur's case, it is a changing concept: identity for the city means evolving continually. The Tiburtines have an identity precisely because it keeps evolving, because they keep building it in reaction to their history. However, with the Augustan writers, and Horace in particular, Tibur's image gets crystallised and frozen as that of a *locus amoenus*, a place which exists mainly in and for philosophical and poetical inspiration; the identity of the place is not under the control of its inhabitants anymore, but becomes fixed around a series of topoi. A non-evolving identity is dead. It is not identity anymore, but folklore. What happens in Tibur can be true for the rest of Latium and Central Italy as well, as we have seen with Vergil's catalogue of Italians. In the Augustan literature, we do not have nostalgia for a lost, ideal Italy, so much as a means to freeze everything that makes up a city's identity, foundation legends for example, thus reshaping Italy, making it controlled and contained. The landscape of Latium itself is involved in that process, as it becomes the place of poetical elaboration, a topical *locus amoenus*. Therefore, I think it is no mere coincidence that assertions of local identity and local autonomy disappear at the same time as Latium and Italy are glorified in poetry. Poetry, among other factors, might be considered instrumental in the integration of Latium.

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CHAPTER 16

# 'Ein völlig romanisierter Mann'? Identity, Identification, and Integration in the *Roman History* of Cassius Dio and in Arrian

*Christopher Burden-Strevens*

## Introduction

In the early 180s CE Cassius Dio settled in Rome after leaving his native Nicaea in the Roman province of Pontus-Bithynia.[1] His father, Cassius Apronianus, held numerous provincial commands: governor of Dalmatia, proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia, and *legatus* of Cilicia around 182, for which post his son accompanied him.[2] Dio's own political career would be no less distinguished than that of his father: his ascent through the *cursus* began with the praetorship for 194 promised by the short-lived emperor Pertinax and culminated with his second consulship with Severus Alexander in 229.[3] A lifetime of familiarity with the political and administrative infrastructure of the Roman state would assist his composition of an 80-book history of Rome from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to the historian's withdrawal from public life in 229.

The substantial political aspect of Dio's life and parentage is important. Dio was not of Roman descent, but Greek, and composed his *Roman History* in self-consciously polished Attic.[4] Within the context of the second and third centuries, it is not at all surprising that a hellenophone provincial should attain the consulship: under Septimius Severus, a third of the known membership of the *ordo senatorius* consisted of Hellenophone eastern provincials, indicating

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1 73.4.2.

2 Cassius Apronianus: *PIR* C 413; governor of Dalmatia: 69.1.3; proconsul: *IGRR* 3.654; *legatus* of Cilicia: 69.1.3 and 73.7.2, with Rich (1990, 1) for the date.

3 Praetorship: 74.12.2; consulship: 80.5.1 and *RMD* (1985) no.133; *PIR* 2 C 492.

4 55.12.4–5.

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considerable access to public office.[5] Yet the visible presence of this political aspect within the text, and the historian's 'absolute and unquestioned' identification with the Roman state as a political organism,[6] of which numerous examples will follow, have led to two interesting phenomena in discussions of Dio's identity and his integration into the Roman establishment.

The first is the assertion that Dio is a fully Romanised man, 'a Roman through and through',[7] who is 'aloof' from the Greek world and, bizarrely, the values of Greek culture.[8] The language of 'Romanisation', which has been applied to Dio specifically on numerous occasions,[9] has been problematised in recent years and has been subject to scrutiny, particularly within the provincial context.[10] In the case of Dio, this scrutiny is justified: we meet in him not the question of 'Romanisation' within the provincial context, of the acculturation of a non-native population, but rather that of the questionable 'Romanisation' of a Roman citizen from birth, resident at Rome for almost half a century. My discussion will demonstrate that any interpretation of the historian as a Roman through and through or aloof from the values of Hellenic culture is untenable—though this is not its principal aim.

The second phenomenon is a departure from the 'Romanisation' assertion which moves in a more sympathetic direction. This is the notion that adopting a Roman political identity demanded no abnegation of Greek cultural identity in Dio's case:[11] the historian was politically Roman, but culturally Greek.[12] This view is attractive: concurrent but distinct identities are possible.[13] In the context of the second and third centuries, this hypothesis is symptomatic of historical developments: Greek identity was to become 'more and more a cultural and moral, rather than a political, identity, since the political aspect had been resorbed by the universal breadth of the Roman Imperial state'.[14] The dissolution of πόλις ideology and curtailment of Greek political identity, and the consequent 'retreat' of Greeks under the Early Empire into their Hellenic culture, has already been masterfully discussed, and is surely a factor in this case.[15]

5 Hammond (1957, 77).
6 Millar (1964, 190).
7 Palm (1959, 82); also Gabba (1959, 378).
8 Aalders (1986, 283).
9 Palm (1959, 81); Aalders (1986, 283); Reinhold (1986, 220); Gowing (1992, 1, 10 n. 6).
10 Millett (1990); Terrenato (1998); Woolf (1998); Mattingly (2002); Id. (2004); Id. (2006).
11 Millar (1964, 182).
12 Millar (1964, 191); Swain (1996, 402–8).
13 Hölscher (2000); Id. (2008); Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 1–7, 14); Roselaar (2012, 9).
14 Desideri (2002, 233).
15 Bowie (1970); see Ameling (1997, 2475).

My conclusions will support this view. However, this creates a dichotomy that demands attention: Hellenic cultural and Roman political identities are treated as separate and distinct, particularly in Dio's case. In this paper, I argue that this distinction is unsustainable; in the *Roman History*, Greek culture is continually and deliberately moulded and adapted to Roman historical events in a manner that demonstrates that the two identities are complementary. This may alter our understanding of the significance of Hellenic culture, not as a retreat on the part of literary Greeks from the political reality of Empire as has often been remarked,[16] but as a means of *expressing* that reality.

There are other issues at stake here. The location of points within the text where Dio refers to the Romans in the first person plural has been assumed as proof that the historian felt himself 'a Roman through and through'. However, these uses of 'we' have been taken out of context, and I argue from an examination of these contexts that these uses of the first person plural designate a particular 'voice'. This voice, when shared with other Greek historiographers of Rome, indicates a particular process of integration which Dio and others underwent.

In this paper, I shall first consider what is signified by Dio's use of the first person plural (this having been so instrumental in earlier determinations of his identity), before discussing the presence of a 'consular voice' as reflective of the process whereby the historian was integrated. I shall then discuss Hellenic culture itself as a part of this process.

## *Magistratus Romanus*

'Dio is so Romanised that on several occasions he says *we* when speaking of Romans and their Roman ways', an earlier scholar once held.[17] This use of the first person plural has understandably attracted interest: the evidence has been cited, out of context, on a number of occasions in support of the argument that in these cases, it is the Romans—a group to which Dio ostensibly felt himself to belong—that are signified.[18] Yet the particular contexts of these instances of ἥμεις reveal that it represents a distinct range of nuances and crafts a particular identity which the historian uses for his own historiographical aims, and which we can use to reflect more broadly upon migrant integration in the political class in this period.

16 Bowie (1970, 17); Anderson (1993, 101); Ameling (1997, 2476).

17 Palm (1959, 81).

18 Aalders (1986, 283); Swain (1996, 403).

In Dio, ἥμεις occurs repeatedly in the political sphere of international affairs. Its use in such contexts can be best demonstrated with a few examples. In his narrative of Caesar’s campaign of 56 BCE against the Veneti, Dio notes the contemptuous underestimation of the βάρβαροι of the design of the ships brought by D. Junius Brutus to battle: ‘these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction (τὸν τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπον) … accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless.’[19] A campaign of M. Licinius Crassus—against the Parthians in 53 BCE—admits of a brief excursus on the resolute opposition of this people to Roman rule; Dio notes that even in his time they continued to hold out ‘against us’ (πρὸς ἡμᾶς) in successive Roman incursions.[20] Indeed, Rome’s engagements in this region in the wake of Septimius Severus’ second Parthian campaign in 198 are a source of particular concern for Dio:

> Severus declared that he had added a vast territory to the empire and had made it a bulwark of Syria. On the contrary, it is shown by the facts themselves that this conquest has been a source of constant wars and great expense to us (ἡμῖν). For it yields very little and uses up vast sums; and now that we have reached out to peoples who are neighbours of the Medes and the Parthians rather than of ourselves, we are always, one might say, fighting the battles of those peoples (προσεληλυθότες ἀεὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμεθα).[21]

This despair at the contemporary military situation in the Parthian theatre forms even the epilogue to Dio’s *History*: the threat from the aptly-named Persian-imperial revanchist Artaxerxes, whose successes in Mesopotamia in 229 challenged Roman control in the region, had become ‘a source of fear to us’ (φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο).[22] In a similar way, the narrative of Severus’ successful but costly Caledonian campaign of 208–210 enabled Dio to state that ‘of all this territory we hold (ἔχομεν) a little less than one half’.[23]

In isolation these instances of the first person plural reveal only that Dio identified fully with Rome as a political organism within contexts pertaining to international affairs; in such contexts it is the Empire specifically which is designated in relation to other diplomatic entities. However, the stating of

19 39.41.1–2.
20 40.14.1.
21 75.3.2–3.
22 80.4.1.
23 77.12.5.

this solitary fact does not explain *how* this identification with the Roman state came to be, and such an explanation is lacking.

Turning to the use of ἥμεις as demonstrative of Dio's personal involvement in the administrative and political infrastructure of the Empire furnishes answers. Within the contemporary history—his own eyewitness account from Commodus to Severus Alexander which represents Books 72–80[24]—ἥμεις often signifies not the Empire as a whole, but the senatorial body. Dio relates 'we senators' (ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ) entering the amphitheatre,[25] under duress, to cheer Commodus in his gladiatorial exploits; an anecdote on one of these occasions has the *imperator* approach 'us senators' (πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βουλευτάς) brandishing the severed head of an ostrich, to the concealed derision of the *ordo*.[26] Again, Dio later records the anxiety felt by ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ at the ensuing conflict between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus for the throne in 197, and the pressure not to appear devoted to either side for fear of reprisal.[27] At other points, the pronoun stands alone, with the noun βουλευταὶ clearly implicit but not stated.[28]

It is in this connection, this laboured identification with the senatorial elite, that the use of the first person plural advanced by some scholars as evidence for Dio as 'a Roman through and through' indicates the process of integration the historian underwent. The *cursus honorum* and army were essential 'contexts for interaction',[29] and recent studies have explored these as avenues to cultural contact and integration.[30] Dio's own experience as a member of this senatorial elite, and particularly as a provincial governor drawn from that elite, has a role to play in the work: it is from the perspective of a Roman governor that we learn about the Empire in the history. When describing Pannonia Superior in his narrative of Caesar's campaign in the region, Dio states confidently that his descriptions are trustworthy given his legateship of the province in 226:[31]

> The Pannonians dwell near Dalmatia … they are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty, as men who possess nothing that makes an honourable life worthwhile. This I know not from hearsay or reading only, but

24 Or taken from other eyewitnesses: cf. Moscovich (2004).
25 73.20.1.
26 73.21.1.
27 76.4.2.
28 For example 74.3; 74.12; 74.14; 75.4.6; 78.11.2.
29 Roselaar (2012, 4).
30 Rosenstein (2012); Sacchi (2012).
31 49.36.4.

> I have learned it from actual experience as once their governor, for after my command in Africa (ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ) and in Dalmatia (the latter position my father also held for a time) I was appointed to what is known as Pannonia Superior, and hence it is with exact knowledge of all conditions among them that I write.[32]

The insistence on autopsy and its traditional enhancement of narrative authority here needs no elaboration.[33] Rather, it is the perspective of the author in his capacity as a Roman provincial *legatus*, the historiographer in the ‘voice’ of a Roman governor, which merits discussion. Dio takes pains to locate himself, as a narrator, within the governing elite, and to write from that basis of authority.

The description of the etymology of the word ‘Pannonia’ which follows this excerpt exemplifies the penchant for viewing the world through Roman eyes in geopolitical contexts, seen earlier in Dio’s use of ἥμεις. Their name, the historian informs us, is derived from the strips of clothing or *panni* from which their tunics were made.[34] *Pannus* is transliterated into Greek, πάννους, from the Latin.[35] This is a clearly Roman etymology. Dio’s dismissal of the Greek habit of naming them *Paeones* as inaccurate and his eager support for the Roman etymology, in addition to his comments on his and his father’s experience as governors in Dalmatia and Africa, remind the reader that they are being introduced to the world outside Rome through the eyes of a Roman provincial governor who writes from personal experience, ‘with exact knowledge of all their conditions’.[36]

Pannonia Superior returns later. A glance back at the example of the Persian Artaxerxes in 80.4 demonstrates the link between Dio’s use of the first person plural in political contexts and his strong self-identification as a member of the Roman governing establishment. This is important. Talking down the threat, the historian writes that the danger lay not in Artaxerxes’ might, but in the fact that ‘our armies’ (τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡμῖν) are in such a state that some of the troops are actually joining him: ‘they indulge in such wantonness … and the Praetorians complained of me to Ulpian, because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand (ἐγκρατῶς ἦρξα)’.[37] There is a clear connection

32 49.36.2–4.
33 *q.v.* Schepens (2011).
34 49.36.5–6.
35 49.36.5.
36 49.36.4.
37 For a discussion of this sentence, see Cleve (1988).

here between Dio's identification with the Empire, expressed by ἥμεις, and his ability as a provincial *legatus* to pass comment on the issues that concern it. Experience lends authority[38]—and concern as a governor for the well-being of the provincial administration is what makes them 'our' troops. With *imperium*, Dio has been given a vested interest in the security of the Roman state.

In the two Pannonian excerpts, the historian speaks not simply as a Roman, but specifically as a former consul, a provincial governor, and as the son of one. This is Dio's political persona, conveyed in the 'voice' of a Roman magistrate.

When viewed through the lens of his career in Roman administration, we begin to see why it is that 'we' represents the Empire. Dio's reference to his command 'in Africa' (ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ) in his excursus on the character of the Pannonians may appear unusual for a Greek writer: Eunapius wrote of 'Libya (Λιβύη), which the Romans in their native tongue call Africa'.[39] Herodian too, in his description of Scipio's *cognomen*, highlights the terminological distinction: 'they called their commander Africanus (Ἀφρικανὸν), having given him this name for those deeds. For this is what the Libyans (Λίβυες) are called in the Roman tongue.'[40] Yet within the context of the excursus on Pannonia Superior, Dio gives reference to the province of Africa which he himself governed in the capacity of a Roman proconsul in 223; it is therefore entirely appropriate for him to write Ἀφρικὴ rather than Λιβύη. Here, we ought not to see Dio as 'fully Romanised' or as simply 'Roman', but rather as a character who, after four decades in Imperial administration, expresses the geopolitical landscape of Empire in the language of Empire where it is demanded by the political, public nature of the subject matter. In this context Dio's consular 'voice' is clearly visible. When considered in connection with his rejection of the Greek appellation *Paeones* for the Pannonians and his endorsement of the Roman etymology *panni*, Dio's preference for the Latin Ἀφρικὴ is cast into higher relief. The historian views the world through politically Roman eyes—but it is specifically his role in governing the Roman world, in this instance as proconsul of Africa, that has caused this to be.

Dio is not alone in his. His use of the first person plural to signify identification with the Empire and his use of Roman geopolitical vocabulary is paralleled by that other Greek consul of Rome in the second century from Dio's native Bithynia, Arrian. When describing Rome's relationship with the Sanni, a western Georgian tribe, Arrian, consul in 129, refers to the Romans as 'we': 'They were tributaries to the Romans long ago, but owing to piracy they do not

38 Plb. 12.25ff.

39 Eunap. *VS* 7.3.8.

40 Herod. 7.5.8.

pay regularly. But now they will have to be more exact, or we will exterminate them (ἢ ἐξελοῦμεν αὐτούς).'[41]

There are clear parallels here between the two historians' use of the first person plural. Dio's usage falls into two groups: identification with the Roman governing elite, signified by his use of ἥμεις to indicate his place in the *ordo senatorius*; and employment of the first person to identify with the Empire in political contexts, exemplified by his comments on the Veneti, Parthians, and Artaxerxes in contradistinction to 'us'. The context in Arrian here corresponds to this latter category. Again like Dio, Arrian too refers to Ἀφρικὴ rather than Λιβύη in a work attributed to him.[42] The two Greek consuls of Rome talk about the state in the first person and use transliterated Latin geopolitical terminology precisely because they are personally involved in its governance.

The cases of Dio and Arrian in these respects have been described as exceptional for the period, and for the former as an example of his 'Romanisation'.[43] This exceptionality may be true—but this is not because it would have been unusual for Greeks invested with *imperium* to identify with the Empire. The problem is one of transmission: we are simply lacking in individual historiographical testimonies from Hellenes who held high administrative functions in the Roman state in this period. Nevertheless, the examples of Arrian, consul in 129, and Dio, who ascended the *cursus* and held provincial governorships in Africa, Dalmatia, and Pannonia Superior, serve as limited but telling evidence. When educated Greeks are given a vested interest and personal involvement in the administration of the Empire, they identify with it: the Empire and the *imperium*-holding Greek become 'we'. This identification, which results from individual political participation and enfranchisement, reveals itself clearly geopolitical contexts in their histories. It is in these contexts that ἥμεις is employed.

It is the presence of the voice of a Roman magistrate and governor that has caused Dio to be identified as a Roman: 'we' collectively as an Empire comes to be because 'we' additionally signifies the senatorial and governing elite into which the historian takes pains to locate himself. Had Dio not enjoyed such an illustrious career, from his quaestorship around 189 to his second consulship in 229, the clear identification with Rome as the only viable political power to represent would be absent from the history. The inclusion of content pertaining to Rome's relationship with foreign powers facilitates, even demands,[44]

41 Arrian *Perip. Pont. Eux.* 11.1–2.

42 For the authorship and date of the *Peripl. Mar. Ery.*, see Schoff (1912); Kornemann (1921); Charlesworth (1928).

43 Aalders (1986, 283).

44 *q.v.* Gruen (1993, 52ff).

that Dio as a provincial governor and Roman consul use the first person plural, as does Arrian. The political context in these instances gives rise to this evidence—but this evidence should be used not to state that the historian was 'Romanised', but rather to reflect on how Dio, Arrian, and other Greeks of the governing class were integrated in the second and third centuries. The exceptionality of Dio and Arrian as Greek consuls of Rome who identified politically with the Empire in their histories stems precisely from the fact that they were Greek consuls of Rome who wrote histories. The pool is small. Nevertheless, the available evidence indicates that political participation in the form of tenure of office was a process of integration among literary elites from the Greek East in this period.

The role of Dio's career in his identity formation and integration into Roman public life should additionally be considered in light of the means of distribution of power in the Early Empire. By Dio's time the allotment of magistracies fell increasingly to the emperor, not to the *comitia* or Senate. In the comprehensive programme of political reforms advocated in Book 52, Maecenas' exhortation to Augustus that the emperor alone be responsible for such appointments indicates Dio's approval of this system,[45] and clearly he has benefitted under it: he states himself that it was to emperor Pertinax that he owed his praetorship for 194,[46] to emperor Macrinus his curatorship of Pergamum and Smyrna in 218,[47] and to Severus Alexander his second consulship.[48] If for Dio, Arrian, and other Greeks of their class the instrument of integration into Roman political life is the *cursus honorum*, then the emperor had become one of the forces which set the integration process into motion. Dio approves.

### *Graecus pepaideumenos*

My conclusions to this point have supported the notion that Dio was made politically Roman, but have tried additionally to locate and explain the origins of this phenomenon. The remaining part of this discussion, exploring the historian as an exponent of Hellenic literate culture, will equally pose no challenge to the traditional view of Dio as culturally Greek. It will, however, attempt to address the dichotomous 'politically Roman, culturally Hellenic' rubric occasionally seen in studies on the historian,[49] and reflect on how Hellenic culture

45 52.20.2–3.
46 74.12.2.
47 80.7.4.
48 80.5.1.
49 Millar (1964, 191); Swain (1996, 402–8).

could be used by Greeks to express rather than hide from the political reality of Roman dominion.

An established view concerning the period known to us from Philostratus as the Second Sophistic holds that, as opportunities for independent political expression by Greeks waned under the Roman Empire, the Greek literature of this period retreated into παιδεία as a means of continuing to assert Hellenic identity on the one hand, and of avoiding the reality of subjugation on the other.[50] Archaism of style, setting, topoi, and subject matter had come to provide a defensive retrenching, while extensive quotation from a Greek literary 'canon' demonstrated παιδεία in a self-consciously paideutic world.[51] In terms of subject matter, Dio clearly does not belong to this trend: the historian has opted not to recreate a glorious Athenocentric past, but to tackle fundamental questions concerning the governance of the Empire and its relationship with the Greek cities, with forty years of Imperial administration behind him.[52] His use of quotations drawn from the Greek literary canon—which have equally been cited as evidence that he 'wrote in a sophistic fashion'—additionally place the historian outside of these trends.[53] While certainly demonstrative of his παιδεία, such quotations serve a very specific purpose: to move toward an understanding of Rome in Greek terms, and to address the Roman world rather than retreat from it.

A number of quotations from Greek poets permeate the history: Homer on nine occasions;[54] Euripides four times;[55] Menander and Sophocles once each;[56] and unknown, fragmentary poets in another three instances.[57] These quotations serve an historiographical purpose: they elucidate the political situation at Rome and the characters of Roman figures by connecting these to figures in Greek literature. This may be considered an example of 'indirect characterisation',[58] and an investigation of these instances reveals that Roman political history and Hellenic literate culture are not separate, but complementary.

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50 Bowie (1970, 17); Anderson (1993, 101); Ameling (1997, 2476–8).

51 On this canon cf. Morgan (1998, 71, 313).

52 See my brief discussion of the speech of Maecenas in Book 52 on pp. 301–3 below.

53 For the quote, cf. Reardon (1971, 209); for Dio more generally as a 'sophistic historian' cf. Bowie (1970, 10ff), Gowing (1992, 290), Bowersock (1996, 113), Sidebottom (2007, 77).

54 56 F 2; 59.19.2; 59.28.6; 60.16.7; 77.15.1; 79.8.6; 79.30.1; 79.40.4; 80.5.3.

55 38.18.2; 58.24.4; 79.8.4; 79.8.6.

56 61.29.3; 42.4.3.

57 47.49.2 (Nauck $TGF_2$ 910); 58.23.4 (Nauck $TGF_2$ *Adespota* 513); 61.29.3 (Kock CAF *Adespota* 487).

58 Pitcher (2011, 107–10).

During his narrative of the reign of Caligula, Dio records a dispute between the emperor and Cn. Domitius Afer. Domitius had accused a relative of Agrippina some years before, and consequently incurred Caligula's wrath for this insult to his mother's family. The encounter between the two follows: 'But when Agrippina met Domitius and noticed that he was standing out of her path because of embarrassment, she called out to him, saying "take heart, Domitius: it is not you I hold responsible, but Agamemnon".'[59]

These are Achilles' words to the heralds of Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1.335, who take his war-prize Briseis from him.[60] When Dio's Agrippina quotes this verse, the reader is invited to formulate the comparison between Agamemnon and Caligula. In the section immediately preceding Agrippina's quotation, Dio describes the greedy rapaciousness of Caligula at length: Domitius was executed and his property appropriated by Caligula on the pretext of having offended Agrippina's family, but in reality his true motivation for these accusations was to restock the depleted treasury;[61] many more died for no other reason than their wealth;[62] and his greed and extravagance were prodigal.[63] When placed within this context, the quotation from the *Iliad* is à propos: by quoting Achilles, Dio's Agrippina forms a comparison between the greed of Agamemnon, and the avaricious rapaciousness of Caligula.

The situation is similar in Claudius' quotation from Homer. A possible heir of Caligula, L. Annius Vincianus, had formed a plot to gain the throne for himself, and failing to find sufficient military backing, invited the governor of Dalmatia, Furius Camillus Scribonianus, to his cause. Annius subsequently fled to Issa and committed suicide following a *coup-entre-coup* in which Camillus assumed command of the rebel forces and avowed to restore the Republic.[64] Exhorting his soldiers to vigilance, Claudius quotes: 'you must avenge yourself upon the one who first injured you'.[65] These are the words of Telemachus in *Odyssey* 16 and 21, where Telemachus insists upon his own weakness and inability to avenge himself against his assailants: 'I am but a young man and have insufficient experience in combat to avenge myself upon one who first

59 59.19.2.

60 *Il.* 1.334–335: χαίρετε κήρυκες Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἆσσον ἴτ᾽: οὔ τί μοι ὔμμες ἐπαίτιοι, ἀλλ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων.

61 59.18.1.

62 59.18.5.

63 59.21–23.

64 60.15.1–4.

65 60.16.7: ὥστε καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχῶς διδόναι, τὸ ὅτι χρὴ 'ἄνδρα ἀπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.'

injures me.’[66] This is entirely consistent with Dio’s presentation of Claudius elsewhere: Claudius was terrified of Annius Vincianus’ rebels and was prepared to abdicate;[67] after Caligula’s murder in 41, he hid away in fear;[68] his constitution was weak and shaky;[69] and he had been prey to illness and fear from birth, to such extent that his character was ‘servile’ and ‘craven’.[70] By quoting Telemachus’ insistence that he is too weak and inexperienced to avenge himself against his assailants, Dio’s Claudius recalls the original context of the quotation, and then exemplifies it—to the derision of those soldiers who could understand him (γέλωτα).[71] Given that the *ethopoiia* of Claudius as an excessive citer of Greek verse (to general mirth) is of course satirically played out in his contemporary Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis*, Dio’s insertion of the words of Telemachus into the philhellene’s mouth here is particularly appropriate: the Greek literary quotation is well-suited to the narrative of Roman history.

There are other examples of Dio’s use of Greek literary quotation to shed light on Rome’s past and give expression to key figures in its history through the mouths of the Greek poets. The revolt of the Maeatae in Caledonia in 210 led Septimius Severus to advocate a policy of brutal slaughter to subjugate the region:

> When the inhabitants of the island again revolted, he summoned the soldiers and ordered them to invade the rebels’ country, killing everybody they met; and he quoted these words: ‘let no one escape sheer destruction, no one our hands, not even the babe in the womb of the mother, if it be male; let it nevertheless not escape sheer destruction’.[72]

These are Agamemnon’s words to his brother Menelaus, who in *Iliad* 6, having had his knees clasped in supplication and a bounteous ransom offered by his Trojan captive Adrastus, is dissuaded from ransoming his prisoner.[73] In contravention of customary ἱκετεία, all must perish.[74] The connection to be made

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66 *Od.* 16.69–72: αὐτὸς μὲν νέος εἰμὶ καὶ οὔ πω χερσὶ πέποιθα ἄνδρ᾽ ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ; also *Od.* 21.133.

67 60.15.4.

68 60.1.2.

69 60.2.1.

70 60.2.5–6.

71 60.16.8.

72 77.15.1.

73 *Il.* 6.55–59: ‘τῶν μή τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον χεῖράς θ᾽ ἡμετέρας, μηδ᾽ ὅν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ᾽ ὃς φύγοι …’

74 On *hiketeia* see Gould (1973); Pedrick (1982).

here between the bloodthirsty advocacy of Agamemnon and the ruthlessness of Severus here and elsewhere in the *Roman History* is plain to see. Dio notes with approval Severus' promise upon his accession in 193 not to put any senator to death—'such as the good emperors of old had given'[75]—but writes that this promise was immediately broken with the execution of Julius Solon, listed among other things that aggravated the *ordo*.[76] Protecting the lives of 'we senators' (ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ) is of fundamental importance to Dio.[77] Severus' brutality in having the head of the defeated pretender Clodius Albinus conveyed to Rome on a pole 'showed clearly that he possessed none of the qualities of a good ruler',[78] and his encomium in the *curia* of the severity and cruelty of Marius, Sulla, and Commodus shows him in a deliberately unflattering light.[79] Again, a character in Dio's *Roman History* recalls the original context of a Greek quotation, and then exemplifies it himself.

As a consul and a contemporary of Caracalla and Alexander Severus, Dio is interested in narrating Roman political history and Roman public figures. Yet as a Greek *pepaideumenos*, as an exponent of παιδεία, he does so through the voice of the Hellenic poets. It is within Roman mouths, not Greek, that these quotations are placed. All of the characters who make such quotations are exclusively Romans:[80] Pompey, Cicero, Claudius, Tiberius, Agrippina, Caligula, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla each quote Greek poets at various points. When Dio's Pompey steps aboard the ship to Alexandria, thereby delivering himself into the hands of his assassins, he quotes Sophocles: 'whoever to a tyrant wends his way, his slave is he, even though his steps be free'.[81] Significantly, these are his last words. Caligula's eccentric habit of repeatedly hurling a javelin at a rock in response to a thunderbolt carries with it a verse of Homer: 'either lift me, or I will thee'.[82] And Caracalla, addressing Dio himself at the end of a banquet in Nicomedia, quotes lines frequently found in Euripidean epilogues—also his last words.[83] In these instances, it is Greek modes of expression, not Roman, that key figures in history choose for the

75 75.2.1.
76 75.2.2–6.
77 Cf. for example cf. 73.5, 73.6, 74.5, 74.6, 75.8.4, 78.5, 78.6.
78 76.7.
79 76.8.1–2.
80 Aside from Claudius' *libertus* Polybius, who in 61.29.3 quotes Menander *Epitrepontes* 5.116.
81 42.4.3; Sophocles *Invent. Fab.* 789 (Nauck): ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.
82 59.28.6; *Il.* 23.725: ἤ μ' ἀνάειρ', ἢ ἐγὼ σέ.
83 79.8.4–5.

situations in which they find themselves. Hellenic cultural identity in Dio can function as a means to *communicate* Roman politics, not retreat from it.

The historian's own last words in his *Roman History* serve as an equally characterising epilogue. Dio likens his withdrawal from public life in 229 to Homer's Zeus leading Hector 'forth out of range of the missiles, out of the dust and the slaying of men and the blood and the uproar'.[84] There is no need to see this as a premonition of the downfall of the Empire,[85] unfavourable a presentation of Roman public life though this may be. The important point here is that it *is* a presentation of Roman public life. Roman history and Roman personalities find a voice in Dio; it is that of Greek culture.

It is not surprising that in a history written in Greek, the historian should employ quotations from Greek literature, given the translational issues. However, Dio can clearly translate Virgil from the Latin into Greek on one occasion,[86] and in the second and third centuries, to quote *utraque lingua* would be acceptable for an educated audience. We know of Greek translations of the *Aeneid* and Sallust in the first and second centuries respectively,[87] a trend further exemplified by fourth-century papyri.[88] Dio clearly has the option to quote Latin literature, and (probably) the ability.[89] Yet he chooses Greek almost exclusively; only once does he quote a Latin poet.

This may be part of a broader project: to present himself as a model of successful cultural interaction whereby Greek literate culture is presented as a valid route for Roman expression. Cohesion in the Empire is important to Dio: the speech of Maecenas prior to the Augustan Settlement of 27 BCE in particular is an anachronistic discussion of Greco-Roman political unity, including various detailed suggestions for the management of the Greek East. Maecenas' arguments aim at centralisation: Greek cities should not be allowed to mint their own coins;[90] they should bring their grievances not to the *imperator* in the form of diplomatic embassies, but to their provincial governor;[91] horse-races should only be held in Rome;[92] rivalries between individual cities, reminiscent of the πόλις ideology of the Classical past, ought to be quashed;[93]

84 80.5.3. Hom. *Il.* 11.163–4.

85 *Pace* Bering-Staschewski (1981, 126).

86 76.10.2.

87 Reichmann (1943); Fisher (1982, 176 n. 12).

88 *P. Ryl.* 478 a–c.

89 Millar (2005, 32–3).

90 52.30.9.

91 52.30.9.

92 52.30.7–8.

93 52.30.3–4. Dio of Prusa's *Orationes* 38–41 exemplify the rivalries Dio is addressing here.

the euergetism of the sophists in these cities is excessive and demands curtailment.[94] Here, Dio as a member of the Roman governing elite addresses the political reality of the Greek East in his lifetime—and this is simply another part of his project, not to retreat into παιδεία to recreate or recall a glorious Greek past, but to use Hellenic literate culture (in the form of Demosthenic rhetoric articulated in Maecenas' speech) to communicate the Roman world. Dio's use of indirect characterisation with Greek literary quotations too shows that Hellenic culture can express Rome: Roman political and Hellenic cultural identities are not only mutually inclusive, but complementary.

The linking and likening of Greece with Rome was not uncommon. Dionysius of Halicarnassus had argued that Romans were fundamentally of Greek descent;[95] Polyainos viewed the Parthian wars as a continuation of the Macedonian Wars which led to Greek annexation;[96] and Claudius Charax, suffect consul in 147, connected Greek history with Roman history in a unified narrative.[97] It may be rash in this connection to state that 'Greeks of the second century A.D. had come to view the city and its empire as a unified whole, with Rome as a single πόλις embracing innumerable fields and villages'.[98] That Dio should feel the need to react against the attempted political and cultural individuality of the Greek cities and argue for centralisation and uniformity in Maecenas' speech indicates that this was not uniformly the case. Certainly in this speech Dio has his orator declare, in a universalising language reminiscent of Aristides' *Roman Oration*,[99] that Rome as a πόλις could come to embrace the world:

> Each of the citizens should be enfranchised with citizenship (πολιτείας), so that in their equality with us in this respect they may be our faithful allies; living in a single city (πόλιν)—our own—and considering it a city in truth, but thinking their own homes merely fields and villages (ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας).[100]

94 52.30.5.
95 D.H. *AR* 1.90.1; Fox (1996, 60).
96 Palm (1959, 62–3); Ameling (1997, 2478).
97 *AE* (1961, 320); Andrei (1984).
98 *Pace* Ando (1999, 7); also Palm (1959, 81) and Aalders (1986, 283). Ando cites Dio's use of the noun πόλις to signify Rome as evidence for this claim, but πόλις in Dio is simply synonymous with *urbs*. No Roman consul, Greek or not, would define Rome as το ἄστυ, and no Roman would call the city an *oppidum* or *moenia*. πόλις is simply the most appropriate parallel expression to *urbs* for want of other options.
99 Millar (1964, 104–5); Ando (1999, 25).
100 52.19.6.

But Dio clearly viewed the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 (or 214),[101] which granted the πολιτεία to all free men within the boundaries of the Empire, as a sham. In his assessment, it had been designed by Caracalla to extort taxes out of the new citizens of the Empire in the same way he extorted large gifts and monies from Dio and other elites for his wasteful projects.[102] In this context, Maecenas' lofty statement on fields and villages could be viewed as much a satire of Aristides' panegyric as an endorsement of it—particularly if the hypothesis that the historian recited it to Caracalla himself is accepted.[103] Nevertheless, this need not trouble us too severely. Where Dionysius, Polyainos, and Claudius Charax endeavoured to establish a relationship between the political history of Rome and that of Greece, Dio's own narrative demonstrates a real attempt to mould Greek literate culture to Roman political history in a manner that is appropriate to the context and historiographically sound. His purpose in doing so was to advertise precisely the unity and cohesion between Greek and Roman worlds that his Maecenas is made to advocate. Hellenic culture, Dio argues, was a legitimate vector for Roman history. Having his *personae* quote those excerpts of Homer, Sophocles, or Euripides which most exemplified their depicted character traits was a means of educating and informing Dio's audience in a language they would best understand.

Whether this is particular to Dio or is exemplified by other Greek office-holders of Rome such as Arrian and Appian (this latter to a lesser extent; he never held *imperium*) would be a worthy study. Dio's Greek quotations are for the most part uniquely attested, but the last words of Pompey, quoting Sophocles, are found additionally in Plutarch's biography of him.[104] This then raises the question of whether Dio's use of Hellenic literate culture as a means of communicating Roman history is indicative of a more widespread trend. Those quotations found in the contemporary history (Books 73–80) which fulfil the indirect characterisation model by linking back to the original context may be more likely assumed to be Dio's own and not gathered from a literary source because his account from Commodus onward is an eyewitness one.[105] The earlier quotations of Agrippina and Claudius fit this rubric—recalling the original context of a quotation and then exemplifying it oneself for characterisation purposes—which would indicate that they additionally are Dio's own; they conform to his practice in Books 73–80. This aside, Dio's use of the *poietai*

101 For the dates, cf. *OCD*[4], s.v. '*Constitutio Antoniniana*'; *contra* Millar (1962).

102 78.9.3–7; Millar (1964, 105).

103 Millar (1964, 104).

104 Plut. *Pomp*. 78.4.

105 73.18.3–4.

takes Greek literate culture in a fundamentally different direction to the manner in which it has been traditionally understood in the period known as the Second Sophistic. Not a refuge, but a communicative medium.

## Conclusion

The *Roman History* supports a reading of Cassius Dio as politically Roman but culturally Greek time and again. This paper poses no challenge to such a pattern—but it has argued against the prevalent separatism of the two notions. Dio sounds most 'Roman' of all—the Romans are ἥμεις—when he is discussing the relationship of the Empire to other diplomatic entities, as within the public and political 'space', Dio speaks from administrative experience. By conferring *imperium*, the Empire has given the historian a vested interest in the continuing security of the Roman state. An extension of this political 'voice' and persona is found in his endorsement of Latin geopolitical terms, which have been employed as evidence that the historian was 'fully Romanised'. Dio states confidently the appropriateness of the Roman nomenclature of Epidamnus, citing the Latin meaning of *damnum*, 'loss', in connection to the hazardous shoreline.[106] As with the transliterated Ἀφρική, Dio endorses a Roman world-view: he governed the province himself as proconsul in 223, and to refer to the territory by the name under which he held it is only natural and appropriate. To this trend belongs also the historian's advocacy of the Latin etymology for Pannonia, which he additionally governed as *legatus* in 226. In this period and social class it is individual participation in the administration of the Roman state, via the Senate and *cursus honorum*, that make one 'sound Roman' when discussing the political theatre. Dio's fellow-consul and fellow-Bithynian Arrian equally exemplifies the same integrative process.

This does not mean that one need be aloof from the Greek world and the values of Greek culture. Quite the opposite. Studies of Dio's identity have tended to divide the political and the cultural into distinct camps, as individual and separate spheres of identification.[107] In terms of form, this discussion has been similarly divided—yet this method concludes that Hellenic cultural identity could be employed by Greeks to communicate and discuss, rather than retreat from, the political realities of the day. In this respect Dio lies far outside the Classical and Athenocentric escapism of the sophists; his narrative, far from using παιδεία to distance the reader from political realities, endeavours rather to move toward an understanding of the Roman world and its characters in

106 41.49.3.

107 Millar (1964, 191); Aalders (1986); Swain (1997, 402–8).

terms acceptable to Greeks. Through the medium of Greek rhetoric in the speech of Maecenas in Book 52, modelled stylistically on Thucydides and Demosthenes, Dio discusses fundamental questions concerning the administration of the Empire and its relationship with the cities of the Greek East. Greek culture can characterise and communicate Roman history and address the Roman world. Determining whether such a course was pursued by other Greeks of the time, particularly those engaged in the Imperial administration, would elucidate still further how Hellenic cultural identity could be employed by politically enfranchised Greeks as a lens for viewing, understanding, and advocating the Roman world under the Early Empire.

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